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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL

- West's Neocolonialist Policies Analyzed  
(Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Vakhrushov; NARODY AZII I AFRIKI,  
No 3, 1981) ..... 1
- Kuwait's Domestic, Foreign Policies Described  
(Vladislav Nikolayevich Zhadyayev; ZA RUBEZHOM, 17-23 Jul 81) 13
- Book on Third World Populist Ideological Trends Reviewed  
(A. B. Belen'kiy; NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 3, 1981) ..... 18
- Book on Urgent Problems of Disarmament Reviewed  
(D. N. Lyalikov; PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA.  
REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL. OSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR.  
SERIYA 1, No 4, 1981) ..... 21

#### NATIONAL

- Multinational Character of Soviet Armed Forces Discussed  
(O. Bel'kov; KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Jun 81) ..... 27

#### REGIONAL

- Kazakh Highways Minister on Motor Transport of Agricultural  
Products  
(Sh. Bekbulatov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 17 Jul 81) ..... 36
- Kazakh Gosplan Deputy Reviews Economic Development  
(Zh. A. Abutalipov; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR:  
SERIYA OSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, Mar-Apr 81) ..... 39
- Development of Diesel Railroad Transport in Uzbekistan  
(A. Belen'kiy; GUDOK, 27 Aug 81) ..... 49



Polish Press Investigates World War II Massacre in L'vov (NASHE SLOVO, 26 Jul 81) .....	53
Political Activities of Uniate Church Attacked (S. Voznyak; RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA, 28 Jun 81) .....	54
Construction of Alma-Ata Pepsi Plant Stalled (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 23 Jul 81) .....	58
Briefs	
Promotion of Kirghiz Literature	60



## INTERNATIONAL

### WEST'S NEOCOLONIALIST POLICIES ANALYZED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 3, 1981 (signed to press 10 Jun. 81)  
pp 11-25

[Article by Vasilii Vasil'yevich Vakhrushov, doctor of historical sciences and expert on international relations: "Some Aspects of Neocolonial Policy"]

[Excerpts] The proceedings of CPSU congresses and documents of the world communist movement contain a thorough analysis of the strategy and tactics of contemporary neocolonialism and of its forms and distinctive features. Imperialism is making every effort to prevent the expansion of the national liberation revolutionary front and the resolution of the urgent economic and social problems now facing liberated countries and to find new ways of extending and reinforcing its own influence in the developing world. In the last 15-20 years, important changes have taken place in the domestic policy and foreign economic strategy of the developing countries, directed against the expansion of imperialist powers and their monopolies.

In the first place, the liberated countries have clearly moved from separate actions to collective or group action. They are using the movement for non-alignment, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and economic, trade and financial organizations for this purpose. These associations unite more than 70 countries. They are striving to establish control over the activities of transnational corporations (TNC) and banks (TNB) within their territory and direct these activities in their own interest.

In the second place, the struggle of the developing countries has evolved into the issuance of programs, collectively engineered demands for the radical reorganization of international economic relations, which will undermine the basis of neocolonialism.

In the third place, the developing countries have begun to make active use of the UN mechanism, its regional economic commissions and other international organizations to attain their goals.

The radical reorganization of international economic relations on the basis of the principles affirmed by the United Nations in the resolutions mentioned above does not enter into the plans of imperialist powers and their monopolies, which are interfering with the implementation of UN resolutions on these matters, even

though they have had to abandon the open sabotage of talks with developing countries and total non-recognition of the "Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States" and the declaration and program of action on the establishment of a new international economic order and have had to find a new strategy and tactics. During the course of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the assembly and afterward, they used the so-called "softening tactic," which was supposed to rob the trade and economic requirements of the developing countries of most of their meaning.<sup>5</sup> The United States and its allies have verbally expressed their willingness to engage in "constructive" dialogue with the developing countries, simultaneously stressing the "extreme danger" of disrupting old patterns. Ignoring the principles set forth in the "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order," they proposed action based on the "common goals" and "interdependence" of the developed capitalist and developing countries. Therefore, imperialism's isolated concessions to the developing countries do not go beyond the bounds of the overall class goals of neocolonial strategy. The theory of "interdependence" is based on an attempted denial of the principle of national sovereignty, including sovereignty over natural resources, because this principle is supposedly contrary to the course of world economic development.

Another element of the "softening tactic" was and is the desire of the United States and its allies to separate the developing countries and isolate them from the socialist community. In its Middle East policy, for example, the United States is striving to sow discord between countries in this region by establishing "special relationships" with Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Oman, as well as with Somalia and some other African countries. The United States is also using the "softening tactic" to create dissension within the ranks of the OAU and OPEC. Displaying contempt for the rights and needs of the liberated countries and a reluctance to make any changes in the existing system of international trade, economic, currency and financial relations, spokesmen for the United States, England and other Western powers in the general discussion at the 11th Special UN Session resorted to the use of this tactic in an attempt to shift the blame for the economic difficulties of young states to the oil-producing developing countries, especially the OPEC countries.<sup>7</sup> The heads of imperialist monopolies and states proceed from the false assumption that the unity of the non-aligned countries and the movement for non-alignment itself are weak, although the results of conferences of the leaders of non-aligned countries, particularly the sixth conference, held in Havana, should have convinced them of the opposite.

In the hope of gaining time, the United States, as political scientists K. P. Sauvart and H. Hasenpflug and American economist C. Rice have advised, is not discarding the "softening tactic" but is also implementing "delaying tactics" in conjunction with its OECD partners.<sup>8</sup> This tactic was supposed to perpetuate the "consultations" and talks with the developing countries, the so-called "North-South" talks, and other conferences, during the course of which the "North"--that is, the group of leading capitalist countries--would employ a tactic, as one study indicates, which would allow the "continuation of the talks," but "without any real concessions on its part."<sup>9</sup>

As we know the "Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States" and "Program of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order," adopted by the United Nations, envisage measures to stabilize world raw material markets, particularly through the conclusion of trade agreements on 18 major types of crude resources and, in the capacity of some kind of stabilizing factor, the creation

of "buffer stocks" of raw materials, for which purpose a "common fund" is to be established, with the developing countries contributing 30 percent of the stocks and the industrially developed countries contributing 70 percent. At the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly (1977), the U.S. delegation announced its willingness to take a favorable stand on the conclusion of trade agreements and the creation of the fund. In fact, however, the United States has not become party to any such agreements as yet (with the exception of earlier agreements on coffee, wheat, tin and sugar). As for the "common fund," the Western countries have consented to negotiate its establishment, but only on the condition that the mechanism of fund administration is not constructed according to the "one country, one vote" principle, but on the basis of the proportion accounted for by states in the world raw material trade. It is completely obvious that the main purpose of this demand was to delay negotiations and create dissension among suppliers of raw materials by preserving the status quo in this area.

The instability of the export revenues of developing countries will necessitate the industrialization of these exports and the establishment of more preferential conditions for their finished products in the markets of the developed capitalist countries. The institution of the general system of preferential terms, adopted within the UNCTAD framework in 1972-1974, was only a partial solution; besides this, the system is being disrupted by the developed capitalist countries. For example, the United States did not institute the system until 1975, and only with a number of provisos, including some stipulating that the benefits would not extend to countries which nationalize the property of American transnational corporations without compensation and countries which belong to export associations. As a result, the system of preferential terms in the United States applies to only 8 percent of imports from the developing countries.<sup>10</sup> Although around 40 percent of the developing countries' commodities are not subject to customs duties in the developed capitalist countries, these goods do not play a primary role in the exports of the developing countries.<sup>11</sup>

Besides this, the developed capitalist countries have taken increasingly harsh direct and indirect protectionist measures. These measures have been taken not only by the United States and the EEC countries, but also Australia, Canada, Sweden and a number of other OECD members and include quantitative restrictions, import quotas, rules on industrial standards and packaging, sanitary regulations and other restrictions limiting the accessibility of developed capitalist markets to the finished goods of developing countries.

The "aid" policy is still neocolonial in essence. It is still being used as a means of exerting pressure on the developing countries, it is selective and it is accompanied by increasing exports of private capital and the advancement of more and more new conditions and demands. For example, the United States now requires, in addition to other demands, that the oil-producing countries guarantee constant oil shipments at prices acceptable to the United States.

The desire to stop, or at least slow down, the growth of the liberation movement in Asia and Africa is the deciding factor in Western strategy, including the "aid" policy. This was reaffirmed by the events in Zaire (the rebellion in Shaba Province), during the course of which the Mobutu regime was shaken; the NATO countries then hastened to its aid and commenced collective military intervention. There was an important motive for these actions by collective colonialism: Zaire



is the world's foremost producer of industrial diamonds and cobalt and a major producer of copper, uranium, gold, zinc, chromium, nickel, manganese and uncut diamonds, and Shaba Province accounts for around 60 percent of the national industrial product. It was precisely for this reason that the administrators of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) offered the Mobutu regime large subsidies. These subsidies, however, cost Zaire a great deal: They were allocated on the condition of total IMF control over the country's budget, taxes and customs duties. Government "aid" paves the way for expansion by monopolistic capital and its seizure of markets and investment spheres in these countries and increases the economic and financial dependence of these countries on their donors.

Under the present conditions of struggle between the two systems, the imperialist states and their transnational corporations and banks are striving to not only establish and strengthen capitalist relations in these countries, but also strengthen world capitalism as a whole, by performing sociopolitical and protective functions as well as economic and exploitative operations.

Under the conditions of the intensification of capitalism's general crisis, the change in the global balance of class power and the increasingly important role of the liberated countries in world economics and politics, the performance of these functions has required that the ideologists of neocolonialism update its strategy and tactics. One of the results of this updating is the "equal partnership" doctrine. Camouflaging their real intentions with the "equal partnership" doctrine, the developed capitalist countries are striving to raise the level of economic development in the liberated countries to some degree to intensify their exploitation and increase their dependence while retaining the developed countries' own monopoly on progressive equipment and technology and the achievements of the technological revolution. Another goal is the consolidation of an economic base for social expansion by transnational corporations in these countries.

One of the results of this new strategy is the perceptible "commercialization" of government aid: The proportion accounted for by nonrefundable subsidies to the developing countries dropped from 50 percent in the 1960's to 20 percent in the beginning of the 1970's.<sup>18</sup> In this connection, some of the expenditures connected with this form of aid have been taken on by the transnational corporations, "philanthropic" foundations and other non-commercial organizations and societies created by the corporations. The role of these "philanthropic" foundations and societies is attested to by the fact that they now number around 30,000 and have total assets exceeding 28 billion dollars.<sup>19</sup> The annual expenditures of "philanthropic" foundations on "aid" to the developing countries exceed 200 million dollars.<sup>20</sup> With the aid of these foundations, which finance university and scientific centers, the transnational corporations acquire information about socioeconomic problems in the developing countries and recommendations on alternate solutions, they establish centers and institutes to train personnel for the developing countries who are programmed to cooperate with the corporations and they "advise" the governments of these countries on various aspects of their economic and social development. They are trying to train instructors, specialists and trade-union personnel who will voluntarily assist the TNC's in popularizing the theories of "social partnerships" and man TNC branches and mixed enterprises and administrative staff and labor force willing to obediently carry out the wishes of employers. The "most promising" charges of these centers and institutes often become employers themselves and occupy important positions in the ministries and departments of developing countries<sup>22</sup> and, in many cases, serve as promoters

of TNC policy and influence. By infiltrating the most diverse spheres of sociopolitical life in these countries, the "philanthropic" foundations can have a considerable effect on government agencies, on the process of domestic and foreign policymaking and on the system of education and personnel training.

In addition to the "philanthropic" foundations, the TNC's make extensive use of other private non-commercial organizations, such as the International Management Counseling Corps, Volunteers in International Technical Assistance and International Exchange Service Corps (United States), the Karl Duisberg Society (FRG), the English Management Institute (England), associations for the technical training of specialists from French-speaking African countries and other developing countries (France), the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (Japan) and many others. These associations help to train administrators for private firms and enterprises in management techniques, give them administrative experience, assist in the training of technical personnel and encourage their students to use the equipment and technology of the TNC's which have founded these associations and societies.

An important channel for the performance of neocolonialism's sociopolitical function is the joint enterprise controlled by the TNC and national capital and the TNC's "partnership" with the national bourgeoisie, which increase the proportion accounted for by joint enterprises in the total number of TNC branches in developing countries from 29 percent to 55.8 percent between 1971 and 1975.<sup>23</sup> This "concession" by the TNC's to the developing countries gives the TNC's more opportunity to use "partnership" with local capital as a means of reinforcing capitalism's social basis of support in these countries.

The objectives of TNC sociopolitical expansion are also the reason for the policy of hiring local citizens to work on the administrative staffs of joint enterprises and TNC branches in these countries. "Properly" trained personnel gradually start to place the interests of the corporation above the interests of their own country as they move up the professional ladder. In a number of countries these administrative personnel have formed bureaucratic and technocratic strata which are part of the "unified international cosmopolitan elite" nurtured by monopolistic capital.

By offering slightly higher wages to the skilled workers and employees of joint enterprises and their own branches and by using advertising to propagandize consumer tastes and standards that can only be afforded by the high-paid personnel of these enterprises and branches, the TNC's are breaking up the working class and forming a labor aristocracy and bureaucracy to defend the "social partnership" doctrine.

The TNC's frequently compile special programs for participation in the social life of liberated countries, which help them to "understand government objectives and public opinion trends."<sup>26</sup> This is the practice, for example, of the American IBM Corporation. For this purpose, the TNC's distribute stock in joint enterprises to influential politicians and government officials in the developing countries. For example, the stockholders of TNC's in Kenya include ministers, members of parliament and the president's relatives. As a result, the TNC's play a "crucial role" in government policymaking in this country.<sup>27</sup>

One important aspect of neocolonial strategy is the involvement of developing countries in military blocs and in the arms race for the purpose of alienating the developing countries from the socialist community or even setting them in opposition to the latter, stopping national liberation revolution and stabilizing pro-imperialist reactionary regimes.

The chief suppliers of weapons to these countries are the United States and its NATO allies. The degree to which the liberated countries have been involved in the arms race, diverting considerable resources, can be judged from data published by the United Nations: The military expenditures of the developing countries in 1975 totaled almost 34 billion dollars, or 12.6 percent of world military expenditures.<sup>28</sup> These expenditures continued to grow between 1976 and 1979. According to the estimates of some experts, they have already reached 90 billion dollars a year.<sup>29</sup> In October 1978, Director Gelb of the State Department's Office of Politico-Military Affairs announced that total U.S. obligations regarding shipments of weapons to the developing countries, stemming from agreements and contracts in 1970-1978, amounted to 140 billion dollars. The statement on the results of the 28th Pagwash Conference (Varna, 1-5 September 1978) said that the world trade in weapons was estimated at approximately 25 billion dollars a year, and most of the weapons were being sold to the developing countries, which have also been the site of the overwhelming majority of wars and armed conflicts since 1945. Many of these shipments consist of weapons for the suppression of the national liberation movement or popular uprisings within these countries. Between 1973 and 1977 the United States shipped 1.1 billion dollars' worth of weapons and equipment of this type to just 10 developing countries, including Thailand, Iran, the Philippines and Indonesia, as well as the South Korean regime, and this figure does not include other military "aid" to these countries in the amount of 1.2 billion dollars. Besides this, 12,732 officers from these countries underwent police training in special schools in the United States and on U.S. overseas military bases between 1973 and 1978.

The scales of the developing countries' expenditures on weapons are attested to by the following data. Under the shah's regime, Iran spent almost 12 billion dollars on weapons just in the United States, not counting purchases from other NATO countries, between 1971 and 1976. Saudi Arabia ordered more than 12 billion dollars' worth of weapons from just the United States between 1950 and 1976.<sup>30</sup> These shipments enrich primarily the military-industrial TNC's because military "aid" to the developing countries is carried out by them on a commercial basis. Contracts for the training of technical military personnel occupy a prominent place in the activities of military-industrial TNC's in these countries. For example, the American Northrop Corporation signed several such contracts with Saudi Arabia, including a contract on the training of flight personnel and the technical maintenance of combat planes for a total sum of 755 million dollars.<sup>31</sup> These huge expenditures are made necessary primarily by the fact that the high technical level of the weapons these countries receive makes it difficult to master them without the help of technical specialists from the supplier corporations, which not only influence the armed forces of these countries but also involve them further in the arms race.

Recent events testify that the TNC's are now more likely to perform the functions of the government in the area of military "aid," establishing favorable conditions for expanded weapon sales in the developing countries and guaranteeing themselves higher profits from weapon shipments and the technical training of military and police personnel.<sup>32</sup>



Due to the negative stand taken by the United States and other developed capitalist countries, the so-called "North-South" talks and other international forums on basic aspects of the new international economic order have reached a deadlock.<sup>33</sup> However, the "softening tactic" and "delaying tactic" are showing signs of wear. The growth of inter-imperialist conflicts is also contributing. The world economic crises of the 1970's hit the Western European countries much harder than the United States and Japan. Besides this, it became apparent that the Western European countries and Japan were more dependent than the United States on imported raw materials and energy resources. All of this forced the imperialist powers to take a slightly more flexible position and display, at least verbally, a willingness to come to some agreement with the developing countries. The trade and economic policy of the socialist community countries, which is based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and real cooperation, is also having an increasing effect on the development of world economic ties.

The imperialist powers have had to modernize their tactics and seek compromise with the developing countries primarily for the purpose of cultivating and reinforcing dependent capitalism in these countries. Monopoly strategy is aimed at the gradual "bourgeoisization" of the liberated countries from within and by means of outside influence. Particularly strong pressure is being exerted on some OPEC members. In this process, the United States resorts to compromises and to flirtation with individual countries or groups of countries. International organizations, such as the OECD, IBRD and IMF, are used extensively for this purpose.

It was under the IBRD aegis that the notorious "Pearson Commission" was set up and submitted its report in 1969.<sup>34</sup> In essence, the commission recommended the following: the clarification of the objectives of "aid" in line with the principles of "cooperation" and "partnership" between donor countries and the countries receiving the "aid" (according to the commission, the initiative in this sphere was to be taken on by the IBRD and OECD); the growth of government "aid" in 1975-1980 to 0.7 percent of the GNP of donor countries and the closer coordination of this aid with the economic plans of the developing countries; the growth of multilateral "aid" (to 20 percent of total aid by 1975), rendered primarily through the International Development Association (IDA)--a branch of the IBRD); the reduction of interest rates on government loans and credit and on IBRD loans for development purposes--to 2 percent--and the extension of longer-term loans--from 25 to 40 years; the creation of a stabilizing IBRD fund to cover part of the expense of loan interest; the compilation of birth control programs under the aegis of the IBRD and WHO; the extension of more IBRD loans and IDA credit for the development of education, science and agriculture. The commission's recommendations on capital investments and the development of foreign trade deserve special discussion. The report spoke of the need to eliminate all obstacles to the development of the private sector in the liberated countries. Although the Pearson Commission recognized the right of the developing countries to control their own natural resources and economies, it nonetheless recommended that they create the necessary conditions to give local and foreign private companies an incentive to acquire property there, and "reorganize" the tax system in such a way that foreign companies might have some incentive to reinvest part of their profits.

The IBRD administrators accepted almost all of the commission's recommendations because the overwhelming majority reflected the interests of financial capital by guaranteeing high profits on investments in the developing countries. On the other

hand, the recommendations that were more in the interest of the developing countries (the reduction of interest rates on loans and credits, the extension of longer-term loans, the improvement of trade conditions and others) remained nothing more than recommendations. The concessions that the Western countries and IBRD and OECD administrators have had to make from time to time, the "policy revisions" and "reforms," including the recommendations of the "Pearson Commission," have not changed the essence or purpose of neocolonial policy, as spokesmen for the developing and socialist countries pointed out at the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly.

The deadlock that took shape by the middle of 1977 in the so-called "North-South" talks gave birth to a new commission, known as the "Independent Commission on International Issues." It is also called the "Brandt Commission" after its chairman. The commission was made up of 10 representatives of developing countries and 7 representatives of developed capitalist countries, acting "in a personal capacity." The commission began its work in December 1977 and published its report in January 1980.<sup>35</sup>

The commission investigated the following issues: the establishment of the new international economic order in light of anticipated and actual international developments in the 1980's; the "interdependence" of "rich" and "poor" countries within the world economy and employment problems; global efforts (involving all countries) in the resolution of international economic problems; the interconnections of the arms race, disarmament and development.<sup>36</sup>

On the whole, the conclusions and recommendations of the Brandt Commission represent a step forward in comparison to the recommendations of the Pearson Commission, which was primarily a reflection of the changed balance of power in the world, including the more important role of the developing countries in world affairs. Apparently, another prominent factor was the desire of the Socialist International leadership to extend its influence to the Asian and African countries, which is attested to by its recent efforts in this area. The significance of the work performed by the "Independent" Brandt Commission should not be overestimated, however. Its assessments and its recommendations were made more from the standpoint of the capitalist "North" than from that of the developing "South." Besides this, many of its recommendations are obviously utopian in character because the imperialist powers are ignoring them. Of course, the very fact that the Brandt Commission was set up and its assessments and recommendations testify that the imperialist powers' dependence on oil, other energy resources and raw materials from the developing countries is forcing them to engage in certain maneuvers: They have had to become party to some international trade agreements, agree to slightly relax conditions for "aid" and the repayment of loans, and so forth. All of these matters, however, will necessitate a long and persistent struggle, and this was reaffirmed by the results of the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Economic Questions (New York, August-September 1980).

It was supposed to elaborate and approve an international development strategy for the 1980's and make a decision on the commencement of talks in 1981 within the UN framework on the implementation of the "Program of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order."

The "Group of 77" (consisting of 119 developing countries) submitted a jointly compiled development strategy for the 1980's to the session, setting forth the following basic goals and objectives: the eradication of hunger as quickly as possible--by the end of the century at the latest; the development of trade on a fair and equal basis for the purpose of production growth in the developing countries and the eradication of unemployment in these countries; the improvement of conditions governing their access to progressive technology; the annual growth of their GNP by 7 percent, exports by 7.5 percent and imports by 8 percent, the growth of internal accumulations to 24 percent of their GNP (by 1990), a 4-percent increase in agricultural production and a 9-percent increase in processing industry output, and the growth of foreign aid to 0.7 percent of the donor countries' GNP (by 1985), and later to 1. percent; the doubling of foreign aid to the least developed countries (by the end of the decade); the reduction of the mortality rate to 120 per 1,000 births and of the infant mortality rate to 50 per 1,000 births (by the year 2000).

But the new reversal in the policy line of the United States and its NATO allies in the direction of the arms race, the escalation of international tension and the revival of cold war has posed a threat to detente and has created new difficulties and obstacles in the struggle for fair international trade and economic relations and the resolution of global economic problems. The imperialist powers are once again trying to use force to solve energy and raw material problems to their own benefit; they are using force to suppress the national liberation revolution. As V. F. Malt'sev, head of the Soviet delegation, stressed at the session, the imperialist powers have embarked on the course of "economic aggression, blockade and boycott, using economic relations as an instrument of blackmail and political pressure against other countries."<sup>38</sup> In this way, the threat to detente touches upon the vital interests of all countries, including the developing states.

Taking advantage of international tension, the West has made radical changes in its tactics; whereas the United States tried to find some kind of compromise with the developing countries in the 7th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, at least at the beginning of this session, and made some proposals to win some of these countries over to its own side, at the 11th special session it took an overtly obstructionist stand, objecting to several important provisions of the document drawn up by the Assembly Preparations Committee on the strategy for the third decade of development (1981-1990) and, in particular, to the document on "Global Talks" within the UN framework. It was the position taken by the United States, and by England and the FRG, that ruined the successful conclusion of the session, and the Assembly did not adopt these principal documents and turned them over to the 35th General Assembly Session for discussion. The chairman of the 11th session, S. Salim (Tanzania), summed up the results of the discussion and expressed his disappointment.<sup>39</sup>

The countries of the socialist community took a principled and consistent stand at this session, just as they had at the sixth and seventh special sessions, and submitted a joint statement on questions connected with economic cooperation, reaffirming the basic principles of this cooperation and setting forth their intentions in this area.<sup>40</sup> The document stresses that the CEMA countries will continue to work toward the implementation of their proposals in regard to disarmament, detente, the reduction of military budgets and the use of the funds thereby made available for development purposes, particularly in the liberated countries.



It also stressed that they would support the struggle against neocolonialism, apartheid, occupation, hegemonism, expansionism and all forms of authoritarianism in international relations. The countries of the socialist community declared that they will continue developing cooperation with the developing countries for the purpose of reinforcing their economic independence and improving the living conditions of their populations, concentrating their economic and technical assistance in the development of state and state-cooperative sectors in the economies of these countries so that they might use their resources in the interest of the overwhelming majority of their population. The socialist countries will also give special attention to the problems of the countries with the lowest economic levels. The document reaffirms approval of the progressive reorganization of international economic relations and the establishment of state sovereignty over natural resources.

At the session, the USSR representative directed the attention of delegates from the liberated countries to the fact that increased aid and the creation of various foundations to finance development and trade will not produce noticeable results as long as the neocolonial policy of enslaving and exploiting these countries, particularly through TNC's exists. In this connection, he stressed that all attempts to compare and contrast the amounts of aid received from CEMA countries and Western countries are invalid because the nature and purpose of this aid differ widely and the terms of the aid are incomparable.<sup>41</sup>

The obstructionist tactics of the United States and other capitalist countries failed at the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly in January 1981. The session approved the resolution on the new international development strategy for the 1980's.<sup>42</sup> The document it adopted states the need to reconstruct international economic relations on a fair, equal and democratic basis; the resolution condemns all types of discrimination, authoritarianism and exploitation in the relations between the developed and developing countries. The purpose of the UN document is the eradication of the obstacles set up by neocolonizers to keep the liberated countries from attaining real independence.

The adoption of this resolution testifies to new progressive changes in the balance of world power. The imperialists have had to retreat from their previous position and agree to some of the demands of the majority of developing countries, which are supported by the states of the socialist community. There is no doubt, however, that the implementation of the principles set forth in the resolution of the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly will require even more persistent struggle and serious, collective action by progressive forces in the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

5. "The New International Economic Order. Confrontation or Cooperation Between North and South?" London, 1977.
7. PRAVDA, 7 October 1980.
8. "The New International Economic Order," pp 80-81.

9. "North-South Negotiations Review and Prospects. Report and Proceedings of a Meeting by the Center for Research on the New International Economic Order," London, 1978, p 5.
10. "International Economic Report of the President, 1977," Washington, 1977, pp 22, 25, 186.
11. CEPAL REVIEW, UN, Santiago, Chile, April 1980, p 27.
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8588

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## INTERNATIONAL

### KUWAIT'S DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICIES DESCRIBED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 29, 17-23 Jul 81 pp 12-13

[Exclusive report for magazine by Vladislav Nikolayevich Zhadyayev, journalist, expert on international affairs and TASS correspondent in Kuwait from 1975 through January 1981: "Kuwait Has Disclosed the Secrets of Its Underground Treasury"]

[Excerpts] The emirate of Kuwait, a small Arab state (with an area of around 20,000 square kilometers and a population of 1,356,000), won its independence in 1961. The past and the present are closely interwoven in the life of this country, located on the coast of the Persian Gulf. In accordance with the constitution, legislative power in the emirate is held by the emir, and executive power is held by a government consisting primarily of members of the ruling Sabah dynasty. Islam is the official religion.

Kuwait adheres to the principles of non-alignment in foreign policy matters. It has condemned the aggressive policy of Israel and the separate Camp David bargain and favors the achievement of a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Kuwait are developing successfully in the political and the economic spheres.

#### 'Nidal' Means Struggle

An intensive search for underground sources of water began in Kuwait in the 1930's. They dug one well after another, but with no results: They did not find the slightest trace of the precious liquid. Once when they were drilling an artesian well a gusher suddenly spouted, and it was not spouting cool clear water, but a black oily liquid. This is how oil was discovered accidentally, one could say, in the desert of the Arabian peninsula. At that time, which was not so long ago, the Kuwaitis were not overjoyed by this discovery: Oil was no substitute for ordinary water. It was only after 10 or 15 years, when industrial drilling began, that the inhabitants of the emirate fully realized the value of the "black gold" that radically changed their way of life and the image of their country. These changes, however, came about later. As a protectorate of Great Britain, Kuwait had no chance to control its own wealth for decades.

Unashamedly robbing Kuwait's subterranean treasuries, British monopolies gave their owners, the Kuwaiti people, only the wretched crumbs of the "petroleum pie." For many years, the real master of the emirate, its supreme judge and its executioner was the English resident, who seemed to have settled here for good. But the wave of national liberation struggle, which was persistently waged by the people of this region throughout the 1940's and 1950's, swept away this stronghold of colonialism as well. In 1961 Kuwait won political independence and the last soldier of the English occupation corps left the country. Even after the emirate had acquired political independence, however, it was still bound hand and foot in the economic sphere. Foreign oil monopolies, such as British Petroleum, the Gulf Oil Company, Shell and others, continued to hold all of the concessions to Kuwait's oil deposits and continued to derive huge amounts of capital from them.

The Kuwaiti people's struggle for economic liberation was a long and difficult one. Their victories alternated with defeats. In spring 1975 the word "Nidal," meaning "struggle," was voiced with increasing frequency throughout the country--from the speaker's platform in parliament, in official government statements, at meetings and rallies, in establishments and over cups of coffee. The objective was the complete nationalization of the entire petroleum industry and its transfer to government control. Despite desperate opposition from monopolies, the people of Kuwait attained this objective. The entire petroleum industry was put under the control of the Kuwait Oil Company.

#### Petroleum and Petrodollars

Kuwaiti society consists of several layers, with Kuwaitis whose families were in the country before 1920 on the highest rung of the hierarchical ladder, and those whose families lived in Kuwait before 1940 on the next rung down. The difference in their legal status is that the Kuwaitis of the second category are not permitted to vote in National Assembly and local government elections. Both of these categories consist mainly of rich and illustrious families which control all economic and commercial transactions in the country. According to the constitution, only native Kuwaitis can own property--that is, real estate lots, homes, commercial enterprises and stocks. Any vehicle sales agency, store, refrigerator repair shop or ice cream stands must have a Kuwaiti patron. By law, he must hold at least a 51-percent share.

Nomadic Bedouins, who do not want to give up their centuries-old way of life, make up a fairly large segment of the native population. All native Kuwaitis are related by tribal ties. The Bedouins play a perceptible role in national politics, particularly in parliamentary elections. With this in mind, the government built an entire settlement of comfortable and fully equipped residential buildings for them, but the Bedouins are in no hurry to settle there because they prefer the restless tent life of the nomad to urban comforts.

A third category is made up of persons who settled in Kuwait in the 1940's and foreigners who have been awarded Kuwaiti citizenship "for special services to the state," as the constitution specifies. Their rights differ considerably from the rights of members of the first two categories. They have almost no privileges. In an attempt to preserve the "purity" of Kuwaiti society, legislation limits the number of foreigners receiving citizenship to only 50 a year. The actual figure is much lower.

There is also a fourth category: the ajanib, or foreign workers. They have no political rights. They can be deported at any time and on any pretext. But they also have their own hierarchy. There is the category of highly paid specialists: physicians, engineers and teachers. The state provides them with all of the necessary comforts to keep them in the country: They are given free living quarters, company cars and other benefits. There is also the category of foreign non-specialists. These are employed in the most diverse jobs, most often in the consumer service sphere. They are the "dregs" of Kuwaiti society. Approximately 80 percent of the 87,000 native Kuwaitis are government employees.

With the huge profits it earns from the "black gold," the government provides native Kuwaitis with free education and a variety of medical services. Soviet physicians played a perceptible role in the establishment of the health care system.

### The Capital on a Lake of Oil

Known oil reserves in Kuwait have been estimated at 71.2 billion barrels (1 barrel = 159 liters), and experts feel that if the present rate of production remains constant, these reserves will last 100 years. Even the capital of the emirate stands above a subterranean lake of oil, with the buildings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs located at the very center of the lake. The attempts of foreign monopolies to begin working the oil deposits literally under the feet of the capital's inhabitants have been resolutely repudiated by the government.

In recent years the government has displayed prudence in reducing the daily oil output from 3.3 million barrels to 1.25 million. In spite of this, Kuwait's income from the sale of oil has risen along with the price of oil.

The Western countries, particularly the United States, are continuously attacking the oil-producing countries, accusing them of raising prices for no good reason and alleging that they created chaos in the Western economy and caused the economic crisis.

The rapid growth of Kuwait's income has had almost no effect on its industrial development. The economy of the emirate still depends completely on oil. For example, Kuwait has only three petroleum refineries. Only one of them is capable of refining up to 200,000 barrels of oil a day. The others refine less.

The country imports virtually all types of commodities. Japan, with an 18-percent share of Kuwaiti imports, heads the list of suppliers, followed by the United States, England and other countries.

Seeking opportunities for the active use of petrodollars, the government of the emirate has recently expressed interest in the establishment of mixed industrial enterprises abroad with the use of Kuwaiti capital.

A large share of Kuwait's petrodollars is deposited in foreign banks.

Kuwait gives considerable economic assistance to other Arab countries, extending loans to them through the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED), established in 1961. Before 1973 the fund extended loans only to Arab countries, but in 1974 it began to offer loans to Asian and African countries, such as Nepal, Vietnam, Mauritania and others.



Kuwait is a member of OPEC and plays a prominent role in its activity. In regard to the major question of world oil prices, it adheres to a policy of compromise between the positions of Saudi Arabia, which favors a price freeze, and other oil-producing states, which insist on their right to raise prices as the rate of inflation and the prices of industrial commodities rise.

#### Objections to Gunboat Policy

Against the background of the stormy events in the Middle East, Kuwait seemed until recently to be a "quiet backwater," which would certainly be bypassed by the political storm. As the atmosphere became more tense in the Persian Gulf zone, however, unrest grew within the emirate as well. The Iranian revolution, which brought about the overthrow of the shah, was the pebble dropped into the "still waters."

Placid calm once reigned in the streets of the capital, and the smell of gunpowder was only present when fireworks were set off on holidays. Recently the capital has witnessed a number of explosions in foreign offices and newspaper editorial offices, airplane hijackings, political assassination attempts and kidnappings. Rockets were fired on one of Kuwait's border regions twice last autumn by "unidentified" airplanes. Although these incidents were not repeated, the emirate has had to live under front-line conditions because its neighbors, Iran and Iraq, are at war. Less tourists are coming to Kuwait. Pilgrims on their way to holy places in Mecca and Medina have preferred to avoid Kuwait on their journey. This has reduced retail trade volume. The Iran-Iraq conflict is having a negative effect on all aspects of life in Kuwait. It is not surprising that its government favors the cessation of this senseless war and the settlement of the conflict by peaceful means at the negotiation table.

In its foreign policy, Kuwait adheres to the line of positive neutrality. It is an active member of the movement for non-alignment. It is also playing a much more important role in the international arena in the resolution of inter-Arab problems. The voice of Kuwait has been heard from the rostrums of the United Nations and the Arab League. Opposing the recent attempts of the United States and other Western circles to create military and political groups within the Persian Gulf zone, Kuwait's leaders have repeatedly stressed that the Gulf countries are capable of dealing with their own internal problems without any outside intervention and are capable of defending themselves against external danger.

The American Administration's threats have aroused profound indignation in the common people of Kuwait. In response to these threats, the population of the emirate launched a mass protest demonstration in front of the American Embassy, and the demonstration took on such huge dimensions that the authorities had to call out tanks to protect the building.

Kuwait's objections to foreign military presence in the region have had a positive effect on the policy of other Gulf countries, most of which have also objected to foreign intervention in their internal affairs.

By advocating the fair settlement of the Middle East conflict, the Kuwaiti Government is having a definite effect on events in the Persian Gulf zone and in the Middle East as a whole. The emirate has repudiated the separate actions of

Egyptian President Sadat and the "peace" treaty he signed with Tel Aviv. Kuwait was one of the Arab states which initiated the boycott of the Sadat regime and broke off diplomatic relations with it.

Although Kuwait is some distance from the Arab-Israeli conflict zone and is not directly involved in the conflict, it has given political support and considerable material assistance to the victims of Israeli aggression. Total financial aid to Jordan, Syria and the PLO exceeds 550 million dollars annually.

'We Want to Live in Peace...'

The objective basis for the successful development of Soviet-Kuwaiti cooperation was their common desire for peace and cooperation and their similar views on major international issues. The diplomatic relations established in 1963 by our countries have been further developed in economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural agreements concluded by Kuwait and the USSR. Soviet goods, such as cement, rolled metal products, lumber, electrical equipment and movie and photo cameras have won widespread recognition in the local market.

Each year the Kuwaiti public takes a greater interest in our cultural and scientific achievements and enthusiastically attends Soviet book exhibits, film festivals and performances by Soviet theatrical groups in the capital of Kuwait.

Specialists from the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, who are helping the Kuwaitis cultivate the "blue field" of the Persian Gulf, are widely renowned and greatly respected in Kuwait. With their help, an Atlas of natural resources has been compiled and published in Kuwait for the first time in the Gulf's history, and practical recommendations for the industrial use of these resources have been worked out. Soviet physicians and athletic coaches are popular in the country. Kuwaiti graduates of Soviet VUZ's have also proved to be good workers.

A new step in the development of Soviet-Kuwaiti relations was taken on 23-25 April of this year, when Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, made an official visit to our country. During the course of talks, the common views of the two countries on several major international issues were reaffirmed, particularly with regard to the Middle East conflict and the need to convene an international conference, with obligatory and equal participation by the PLO, for the settlement of this conflict.

Vehemently objecting to the establishment of foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf zone and the placement of nuclear weapons there, Kuwait and the Soviet Union resolutely condemned Israeli aggression against neighboring Arab states and Tel Aviv's attempts to hold on to the Arab territories it had seized.

8588

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BOOK ON THIRD WORLD POPULIST IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI In Russian No 3, 1981 (signed to press 10 Jun 81)  
pp 189-194

[Review by A. B. Belen'kiy of the book "Ideynnye techeniya narodnicheskogo tipa v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [Populist-Type Ideological Currents in the Developing Countries] by V. G. Khoros, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva Nauka, 1980, 278 pages, index on pages 278-283]

[Excerpts] The author of this work is known to our readers as a researcher of the populist ideology.

This new work by V. G. Khoros gives us a much broader and deeper understanding of populist ideological systems, which are extremely influential in our day in the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Most of the book is taken up by a classification and description of populist ideological currents in the developing countries, based on comparative historical analysis.

The first chapter of the monograph, which deals with populism in Russia in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, contains a convincing and objective description of its historical role and its ideological legacy. The author was completely justified in including this chapter because, in the first place, Russian populism was one of the most highly developed populist ideological currents and, in the second place, it is the most thoroughly researched. Furthermore, it was as a result of its study by the founders of Marxism that the Marxist-Leninist methodology of assessing this type of non-Marxist socialist current took shape.

In our opinion, the second chapter, in which the essence of populism as an ideology is analyzed, is the most brilliant and valuable section of the work. The chapter contains interesting statements and conclusions about the genesis of populist ideas, their social base, the role of the intelligentsia in the economically backward countries and the relationship between internal and external ideological factors in populism. The author conclusively illustrates not only the internal contradictions of populist-type ideological currents, but also the inevitable and natural character of these contradictions and their social, psychological and other causes.



It is obvious that the author worked diligently on the third chapter of the work, containing an analysis of ideological currents of the populist type in 13 countries on 3 continents from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day. His analysis of the teachings of the most prominent ideologists (Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi, Sukarno, Aun San and others in Asia, Fanon, Nkrumah, Kaunda, Nyerere and others in Africa, the supporters of L. Cardenas and Apristas in Latin America) is based on a thorough study of primary sources and all of the valuable Soviet and foreign studies of this topic. In general, one of the distinctive features of V. G. Khoros' work is his consideration of, and respect for, his scientific predecessors and colleagues--experts on Oriental, African and Latin American affairs.

The third chapter is not simply a reference work on populism or a list of ideas and their propounders, but a detailed description of a number of ideological systems, as elements of the unified populist system analyzed in the preceding chapter. The author conclusively illustrates the place of populist ideas in the ideology of the national liberation movement and reveals the main features of populism in the developing countries and its main differences from populism in Russia (a fundamentally different historic era, an anticolonial and anti-imperialist purpose, much more clearly defined national features, the more prominent role of religion and tradition, an obvious prevalence of statist trends over anarchic tendencies, less trace of "agrarian democratism" and so forth).

One important distinction is the much higher level of infiltration by Marxist elements in contemporary populist theories. But the attitude toward Marxism is still extremely selective, it is still perceived through the prism of populist concepts, and some Marxist theses are used to substantiate teachings that are thoroughly non-Marxist.

The author concludes his work with an overall evaluation of the role and nature of ideological currents of the populist type in Asia, Africa and Latin America today. This is also where the author examines the important and fundamental issue of the attitude of Marxist-Leninists and the international communist movement toward contemporary revolutionary currents of the populist type. Khoros writes: "Proceeding from V. I. Lenin's thesis that 'Marxists must carefully remove the populist utopian trappings from the healthy and valuable nucleus of the sincere, resolute and militant democratism of the peasant masses,'\* Marxism-Leninism today supports the 'non-capitalist nucleus' of the national liberation movement, including the revolutionary currents of the populist type" (p 247). Of course, this does not mean the refusal to criticize the weak, unscientific aspects of the ideology of these currents. At the same time, Marxist-Leninists do not exclude "the possibility of the ideological evolution of national democrats of the populist type in the direction of scientific socialism" (pp 248-249). This process can be promoted by such factors as the growth of political activity by the working class in the liberated countries, the formation and consolidation of communist parties there, their ability to establish contact with national democratic forces, and the economic and political assistance and ideological influence of the world socialist system.

\* V. I. Lenin, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* [Complete Collected Works], Vol 22, p 121.

We feel that some of the statements and opinions in the work are debatable.

There is no question that the work would profit from a special section on the role of populist-type ideological currents in the ideology of contemporary revolutionary democrats in the countries with a socialist orientation. This matter is now discussed in various sections of chapter 3 and in the conclusion, but it would be better if all of these passages were to be grouped together.

There is no general bibliography in the book. There are footnotes for each individual chapter, and this complicates the retrieval of sources and does not convey the full picture of V. G. Khoros' vast historical reference base or the broad range of works he employed.

On the whole, the book represents a significant contribution to Soviet Orientology, philosophy and history. It would be wise to translate this fundamental work into English and French to make it accessible to foreign readers, particularly the intelligentsia in the developing countries.

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8588

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BOOK ON URGENT PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT REVIEWED

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA. REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL. OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR. SERIYA 1 in Russian No 4, 1981 pp 39-48

[D. N. Lyalikov survey: "Urgent Disarmament Problems"]

[Text] 81.04.017: G.A. Arbatov, "U.S. Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the 1980's" in the book "Mir i razoruzheniye: Nauchnoye issledovaniye, 1980" [Peace and Disarmament: Scientific Research, 1980], N.N. Inozentsev, chief editor, Moscow, 1980, pp 63-80.

81.04.018: D. M. Gvishiani, "Scientific-Technical Progress and the Problems of Preserving Peace," *ibid.*, pp 46-62.

81.01.019: M.A. Markov, "The Pugwash Movement of Scientists," *ibid.*, pp 96-103.

81.04.020: V.F. Petrovskiy, "Urgent Problems of Disarmament: the Soviet Union's Initiative," *ibid.*, pp 150-164.

81.04.021: Ye. M. Primakov, "The Arms Race and Regional Conflicts," *ibid.*, pp 81-95.

81.04.022: R.Z. Sagdeyev, Yu. I. Zaytsev, "Space--At the Service of Peace and Progress on Earth," *ibid.*, pp 104-116.

81.04.023: Ye. K. Fedorov, "Scientific-Technical Aspects of Certain Political Decisions," *ibid.*, pp 29-45.

81.04.024: V.S. Shaposhnikov, "The Role of the Public in the Struggle for European Security," *ibid.*, pp 117-129

"Mir i razoruzheniye 1980" is the first edition of an annual publication devoted to the problems of the relaxation of tension, a reduction in armaments and the expansion of international cooperation, particularly the cooperation of scholars. The publication, which comes out in five languages (Russian, English, French, German and Spanish), is produced by the Scientific Council on Problems of Peace and Disarmament, which was set up in 1979. Approximately 80 prominent Soviet scholars and also a number of party and public figures constitute the council. The council is intended to be a center of scientific and public thought in the USSR in the sphere of peace and disarmament. The yearbook will publish material illustrating the activity of



institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other centers in the sphere of the problems of peace, a chronicle of international meetings and a bibliography of the works of Soviet authors.

The first edition was prepared at the end of 1979 and the start of 1980. This period, the introductory article observes, was very complex and to some extent a turning point in the development of international relations. The end of the 1960's and a large part of the 1970's had gone by under the sign of a diminution in international tension and big successes of the cause of detente. But on the boundary between the 1970's and 1980's the international situation became seriously exacerbated, and the arms race developed with new force. A NATO Council session in December 1979 adopted a decision on the deployment in the West European countries of new American intermediate-range nuclear weapons, including ballistic and cruise missiles. At the same time the U.S. President announced a 5-year program of a further buildup of military efforts. All this threatens to start a new round of the arms race. As far as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are concerned, they have advocated and now advocate detente and a halt to the arms race, to which there are no intelligent alternatives. "There is no field in the sphere of armaments with respect to which the USSR and its allies are not ready to hold talks and there is no type of armament which they are not prepared to limit or reduce on a mutual basis" (p 13).

Ye.K. Fedorov's article observes that "scientific and technical research and calculations, without which the creation of new weapons systems is impossible, are becoming just as essential a component of the opposite task--limitation and cessation of the arms race" (p 19). Meetings of scientific experts played a big part in the talks on a halt to nuclear weapons tests which began in 1958. The Western side made the conclusion of agreements dependent on whether or not specialists proved the possibility of detecting concealed atomic explosions. In the scientific-technical debate each side was obliged to prove its viewpoint, taking known scientific methods as a basis. In accordance with the instructions they had received, the Western experts held to a skeptical position from the very outset, showing the impossibility of the detection of all nuclear explosions by methods known to science. In the course of prolonged and important discussion the Soviet side showed the possibility of the detection of all explosions, even those which might be produced in space. The Moscow treaty on a halt to tests in three environments was signed in 1963. This prevented further radioactive contamination of the earth's atmosphere. However, underground tests are sufficient for perfecting the nuclear weapons themselves. A Soviet-American treaty limiting these tests also to a yield of 150 kilotons was concluded in 1974. The Soviet Union is continuing the struggle for the banning of all nuclear tests.

A big part was played by expert scientific testimony in the preparation of the 1977 international convention on banning the military use of means of influencing the environment. "This is essentially the first example of an agreement on a halt to the use of future scientific achievements for military and other hostile purposes" (p 44). It should be recalled that in the "cold war" period debates developed in the United States on the possibilities of a "meteorological war" against the Soviet Union for the purpose of creating a drought or an ice age on USSR territory. A zealous supporter of such a war was Senator and, subsequently, President L. Johnson. From 1966 through 1972 the U.S. Army systematically performed experiments to increase

rainfall in the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" zone--a network of linking roads--for the purpose of extending the flood season, but serious scientific research into methods of influencing the weather in a number of countries had shown that the solution of this problem was not that simple. The dream of the creation of an "ice age" in the USSR had to be abandoned. Thus in both agreements an accord being arrived at on scientific-technical questions served as the basis for political solutions.

D.M. Gvishiani's article observes that "despite the achievements of scientific-technical progress and frequently in direct connection with its acceleration in the final quarter of the 20th century, pessimistic trends reflecting growing anxiety for the fate of mankind have been manifested more than ever before in the history of civilization" (p 46). Together with the movement of scientific-technical progress there has been an invariable broadening of the possibilities of its use both for constructive and destructive purposes. "According to certain American data, total nuclear might is in excess of 30 billion tons of TNT. This quantity of the nuclear stockpile could destroy everything living on earth 15 times over" (p 53). The current stage of scientific-technical progress is determining the forms and methods of the arms race. Whereas in the 1950's the main method was the quantitative buildup of armed forces and armaments, the main accent now is put on the qualitative refinement of the weapons and the development of fundamentally new types thereof. Scientific potential is increasingly becoming a most important component of a state's military potential. In the United States the proportion of research in total expenditure for military purposes rose from 0.2 percent in 1940 to 11.4 percent in 1976. The arms race is an accelerating process whose mechanism is extremely complex. It is activated under the influence of various oppositional forces, the most active of which is the military-industrial complex. The supporters of the arms race resort to the argument that a reduction in military production would inevitably give rise to mass unemployment. However, U.S. economists have shown the groundlessness of this argument. Some 7.5 million jobs need to be created for total employment in the United States. The resources released as a result of disarmament would cover with interest the capital investments necessary for this and contribute to the solution of urgent social problems in the sphere of education and public health and an improvement in living conditions. But the tasks of reconversion of the economy are more difficult for the developed capitalist countries than for the socialist countries with their planned economy. Also wrong are the assertions that it is only possible to halt the arms race today by halting scientific-technical progress as a whole inasmuch as the reasons for this race are rooted not in science and technology as in the sphere of social relations.

The arms race is applying the brakes to a solution of most urgent problems confronting mankind today in the sphere of power engineering, environmental protection, exploration of the oceans and so forth. These problems are so complex that their solution is beyond the capacity of even the most developed country. Their solution requires new forms of the organization of science and cooperation on an international level. The International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, in whose works the Soviet Union is an active participant, has been working for 8 years now in Vienna. The ever increasing role of science in the solution of the problems of the present-day world should lead to scientific figures' great awareness of their responsibility for the fate of mankind.

G.A. Arbatov's article mentions the exacerbation of the international situation at the boundary between the 1970's and 1980's brought about by the activity of the

U.S. ruling circles. At the basis of this turnabout lies the endeavor of the U.S. military-industrial complex to restore its leading position in the world arena. The unsurmounted legacy of hegemonism, "cold war" and anticommunism remains an important factor in U.S. political life, the author observes. To change public opinion the supporters of a new version of the "cold war" presented the energy crisis, the growth of inflation and then the crisis in Iranian-American relations as the result of a "decline in U.S. power". "Attempts were made to find a way to Americans' hearts and national sentiments via their pocket books and gas tanks" (p 70). The inconsistency in the most important policy issues and the fluctuations and zigzags of the U.S. Administration have shaken the foundations of detente and strengthened the positions of its opponents. It is difficult to say even to what extent this entire process was regulated. A second edition of the "cold war" would be more dangerous than the first for a number of reasons. The new types of armament will make supervision of the other side increasingly difficult. Far more participants could be pulled into the "cold war" maelstrom, some of which (primarily China) have an aptitude for pursuing a most irresponsible policy in the world arena. The problems in the sphere of natural resources, power engineering and food, the urgency of which will increase in the 1980's, cannot be solved under the conditions of a new arms race.

The feasibility of the present plans of the opponents of detente is dubious. "If the United States was unable to win the arms race earlier, when it had considerably more advantages, why should it be successful here this time?" (p 74). A return to the "cold war" is being resisted not only by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, many European capitalist countries and Japan do not want this either. Changes in political sentiments may be expected in the United States itself also (p 79).

Ye. M. Primakov's article shows that two processes--the arms race and regional conflicts--are closely interconnected. According to a widely held theory in the United States, two phases of American policy are distinguished in respect of a regional conflict--controlling and regulating. The aim advanced here is that of preventing the conflict growing into a global thermonuclear confrontation and ensuring that the conflict develop in such a way as would lead to the strengthening of U.S. positions. A most important resource for supporting this important task is arms supplies to pro-Western or simply puppet regimes. The arms trade has come to be determined largely by the arms race. Arms imports in the developing countries are growing at a headlong pace. Characteristic of this are American arms supplies to Israel and Egypt in exchange for their consent to sign a separate treaty, which is regarded as a means of strengthening American influence in the Near East. U.S. arms supplies to its clients are provoking the development of conflicts in a number of cases. The modernization of armaments is also releasing obsolete models and engendering an endeavor to sell them overseas in order to channel the financial resources derived from this into continuation of the arms race. The arms race is also giving rise to the temptation to test new models and types of weapons under field conditions. There is also an endeavor to create weapons arsenals in various regions of the world for the contingency of global confrontation. Finally, the arms race is contributing to the creation of a war industry in the United States' client countries, some of which have themselves become arms exporters. The trend toward the creation of nuclear weapons in countries which are involved or which could be involved in regional conflicts (Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, South Korea, Taiwan) is particularly



dangerous. The danger of the spread of nuclear weapons and the appearance of "small nuclear powers" stirred the majority of states to concerted action, a result of which was the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The economic and technical barriers on the path of the proliferation of nuclear weapons are being lowered with the growth of scientific-technical progress. Under these conditions the adoption of measures to reinforce the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, including the application of a monitoring system provided for by this treaty, is becoming increasingly urgent.

M.A. Markov's article adduces material on the scientists' movement for peace and disarmament which has acquired the name "Pugwash". The words of the Einstein-Russell Manifesto (1955) which laid the foundation for the movement have a particularly urgent ring under the conditions of the exacerbation of world tension. The document states that a disaster has arrived which people have not encountered hitherto--the possibility of the extermination of intelligent biological beings in a world thermo-nuclear catastrophe. Having outlined the possibilities of a happy future for mankind, the manifesto asks: "Will we choose, instead of this, death merely because we cannot forget our quarrels?" (p 99).

The author observes that a certain blunting of the sense of danger in world public opinion is connected with the fact that the proportion of the population which has no or virtually no recollection of the horrors of WWII is now beginning to predominate in the world. This applies even more to the younger generation. In 1979 the film "The Unknown War" was shown on the television screens of many Western countries. This was R. Karmen's film "The Great Patriotic". The very title of the film speaks volumes. It is essential to recall the history of the last war a little more often. As its lessons showed, the emergence of a regime with an aggressive ideology in a large country is capable of leading to a world tragedy.

The article of R.Z. Sagdeyev and Yu.I. Zaytsev observes that the conquest of space forms in people an idea of man's unity and the community of his tasks and development prospects. Modern cosmonautics represents a tremendous complex of disciplines, incorporating hundreds of traditional and new branches of science and technology. It is important that all of them, working in the space sphere, channel their research toward man's progress. The joint flight of the Soyuz and Apollo spaceships in 1975 was of great political significance as a symbol of the strengthening of Soviet-American relations and as a practical contribution to mutual scientific-technical cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries. It is essential that these efforts be continued.

V.S. Shaposhnikov's article examines the role of the world public in the solution of topical international problems. In evaluating it the CPSU proceeds from the well-known proposition of Marxism-Leninism concerning the increased role of the people's masses in the historical process. However, the following idea is frequently pursued in the works of bourgeois authors: international relations today are so complex that they require vast specialized knowledge and that people who are not competent should not be admitted to this sphere. Contemporary international relations, the author writes, are truly very complex, but, nonetheless, such assertions are groundless and dangerous to the cause of peace. To be consistent in such a position, a point of absurdity could be reached, the claim being that the sphere of international relations is inaccessible in its complexity not only to public but also political figures and that only experts may participate therein. At the same

time recent years have been characterized by the more active participation of prominent scientists and specialists in many branches of learning in the peace movement. Contacts of public and intergovernmental organizations, which were virtually non-existent in past years, including contacts with the United Nations, are also promising. A trend can also be observed toward the joint demonstrations of various peace forces, which are continuing under the new conditions the traditions of the antiwar congresses of the 1930's. More active use than ever before is now being made in the peace movement of national parliaments and other elective bodies. Determination of the most effective methods of public action is particularly important now, when NATO has set course toward the stepping up of a long-term military program, which could cancel out the positive changes which occurred in the 1970's, which are to a considerable extent the fruit of the activity of the peace-loving public and the broad people's masses.

V.F. Petrovskiy's article observes that disarmament is now a global problem playing a most important part in the prevention of the danger of a new world war. Only disarmament is capable of creating a practicable basis for the solution of such global problems as the food problem, the development of new sources of energy, the conquest of space and the oceans and preservation of the environment. The arms race is a colossal deduction from man's material resources, particularly if it is considered that the cost of military equipment increases continuously and that the rate of its obsolescence is accelerating under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. It is observed that in recent years the Soviet Union has submitted 108 constructive disarmament proposals for the examination of various international fora. Under current conditions the central problem is nuclear disarmament, which includes the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons and the prevention of their proliferation. The USSR also supports the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

The question of the banning of new types and systems of mass destruction is one of the most important. This question was raised by the Soviet Union at the UN General Assembly session in 1975. The solution of this problem would halt the process of the transition of the arms race to a qualitatively new stage. Thus, for example, specialists are speaking of the possibility of the creation in the not-too-distant future of laser weapons; infrasound weapons for influencing people's internal organs and mentality; genetic weapons leading to the disruption of the hereditary mechanism of both man and animals and plants; and an ethnic weapon based on the existence of biochemical differences of individual groups of the population in skin color and other characteristics for selective targeting (p 160). Discussion of this question comes up against the position of the Western powers, who believe that this question should only be a subject of discussion in the event of a real possibility of the appearance of such weapons among states. The groundlessness of this approach is confirmed if only by the practice of disarmament negotiations, where the elaboration of draft agreements is not keeping pace with the arms race. The struggle for further progress along the path of curbing the arms race and of disarmament is particularly complex, but it is particularly necessary in the situation currently taking shape in the world arena.

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## NATIONAL

### MULTINATIONAL CHARACTER OF SOVIET ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 12, Jun 81 (signed to press 4 Jun 81) pp 9-16

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Col O. Bel'kov: "An Army of Friendship and Fraternity of Peoples"]

[Text] The idea of the international fraternity of peoples which permeates the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is dear and close to the fighters for the victory of communism in our multinational nation. The carrying out of this great idea has demanded truly titanic efforts from the Communist Party and the workers of all nations and nationalities. As a result of the heroic struggle and labor, the USSR has arisen and grown stronger and a society of developed socialism has been built.

"The unity of the Soviet peoples at present is stronger than ever before," pointed out Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress. "This does not mean, of course, that all questions in the sphere of national relations have already been solved. The development dynamics of such a large multinational state as ours gives rise to many problems which require close attention by the party." It must not be forgotten that imperialist propaganda has also not ceased its actions aimed at undermining the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples and is endeavoring to poison the awareness of our people with the venom of nationalistic prejudices.

This is why the indoctrination of the workers in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and a proud sense of belonging to the united great Soviet motherland has been and remains a sacred duty for the party and one of its most important tasks. This task is carried out in all spheres and cells of our society, including in the Armed Forces. The Soviet Army has gained universal recognition as an army of friendship and fraternity of peoples and as a remarkable school which develops the soldier-citizen, the patriot and internationalist.

As is known, the nationality question in such aspects as we inherited it from the past, that is, as a question of eliminating national suppression and inequality and antagonism between peoples has been solved once and for all and irreversibly. In our nation, a great fraternity of working peoples has arisen and grown stronger and they are united, regardless of their national affiliation, by a commonness of class interests and goals and historically unprecedented relations have formed which we rightly term the Leninist friendship of peoples.



From the first years of Soviet power, the party's economic and social policy has been organized so as to raise the former national borderlands of Russia as quickly as possible up to the development level of its center. This task has been successfully carried out. Here an important role has been played by the close cooperation of all the nations in our country and primarily by the selfless aid from the Russian people. As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, at present there are no backward national borderlands. The party is leading the peoples of the USSR along the path of friendship and fraternity and along a course of increasing the material and spiritual potential of each republic and its maximum use for the harmonious development of the entire country.

The celebrating of the 60th anniversary of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Azerbaijan and the 40th anniversary of the establishing of Soviet power in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was proof of the loyalty to this Leninist course which was thoroughly established by the 26th CPSU Congress. Recently the Soviet people warmly and cordially celebrated the 60th anniversary of Georgia and its communist party. In speaking at ceremonies in Tbilisi, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the multinational nature of the republic's jubilee. It became still another demonstration of how unified are the Soviet peoples and how united are their thought, deeds and aspirations.

A developed socialist society possesses all of the necessary socioeconomic and spiritual prerequisites for the even closer integration of the nations and for achieving a qualitatively new degree of their fraternal cooperation and mutual aid. It is not only a question of the friendship of peoples for which the Soviet people have been and are rightly proud, but also the increased, tempered unbreakable international unity of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

Socialist social ownership comprises the economic basis of this unity. This is founded on the uniform social structure and growing social uniformity of Soviet society as a whole and each nation individually. It is founded on the nationwide and unified national economic complex, on the strong state union of peoples and on the unchallenged dominance of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The historically new community of people, the Soviet people, which has come into being during the years of socialist and communist construction is the embodiment of the unity and solidarity of our society.

History has never known such a strong and stable state unity of scores of nations and nationalities as the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, abroad many fabrications are disseminated about our nation. Some bourgeois ideologists continue to assert that socialism has not introduced anything new into the national relations and the USSR supposedly remains "a conglomerate of diverse nations." Others, on the contrary, see a certain "new nation" in the Soviet people and for this reason accuse the USSR of a policy of enforced assimilation and russification. In both instances they intentionally ignore true reality and endeavor to slander socialism, cast aspersions on the Leninist nationality policy of the party and undermine the friendship and unity of the Soviet peoples.

The Soviet people, as a new historical community of peoples, is not a myth or fabrication but rather the natural outgrowth of the socioeconomic development of our nation and the transformation of the entire system of social relationships,



including national ones. It is the result of the enormous work done by the party to unify the Soviet people and to develop a new man who is the active builder of communism, a patriot and internationalist. When we speak about the multinational Soviet people, we thereby emphasize that it is not the question of any "new nation" but rather a collaboration of real socialist nations and nationalities. The formation and development of this association have not led to the destruction of national features in the life of the peoples. In our nation, as was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, national feelings and the national dignity of each person are respected. At the same time the belonging of the socialist nations to the single Soviet people has an ever-growing impact on their development and establishes in the peoples of different nationalities common traits of conduct, character and ideology.

Life has convinced us that intensive economic and social development in each of our republics accelerates the process of their all-round integration. There have been the flourishing and mutual enrichment of national cultures and the formation of a culture of the united Soviet people. "This process," pointed out Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "is occurring in our nation as it should occur under socialism, that is, on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntariness. The party closely watches the observance of these Leninist principles in nationality policy. We will never retreat from them!"

Loyalty to these principles is organically inherent to our party itself. In terms of its ideology and political practices and in terms of its structure and composition it has been and remains a party of internationalists. At present in its ranks are 17½ million communists, the finest sons and daughters of all the nations and nationalities of the country. The CPSU acts as the guiding, directing and unifying force of Soviet society, the bulwark of the friendship of peoples and an unsurpassed example of the solidarity and militant comradeship of like-thinkers. This was demonstrated with particular strength by the 26th CPSU Congress the delegates of which represented 66 nations and nationalities.

Along with the other vitally important questions, the congress also discussed the tasks of further improving national relations and strengthening the Leninist friendship of peoples. The party sees in their successful solution one of the most important conditions in the dynamic and all-round social development of society, for raising its economic and defense might and for strengthening the military potential of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Our party has always proceeded and does proceed from the Leninist thesis that the establishing of close cooperation among the nations not only in the economic but also the military area is of fundamental, vitally important significance for the fate of socialism. It is possible to establish at least three areas in which the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the Soviet peoples have beneficially influenced all the components of the defense capability of the state. In the first place, the military and technical basis has been strengthened for the military might of the Army and Navy. Secondly, the social and national base of their manning has been broadened. Thirdly, friendship of peoples serves as a mighty source of the unshakable morale of our men, patriots and internationalists.

The friendship of the Soviet peoples, in encouraging the economic and social progress of all our republics and their ever-closer integration within the framework of a unified national economic complex, creates a strong basis for the fullest and most efficient use of the opportunities of each socialist nation in the common interests of reliably protecting national security.

As is known, the stronger the productive forces and the more evenly they are located over the territory of the nation, the higher the mobility of the economy and, in the event of war, its stability and survivability. It is no accident that even the 15th Party Congress which discussed the directives relating to the First Five-Year Plan, pointed out that "the zoning of industry should correspond to the requirements of strategic security." This notion coincided fully with the general course of the accelerated economic development in all the national republics. During the years of the prewar five-year plans, there was a substantial shift of industry to the East.

However, it was impossible to fully resolve the problem of the rational zoning of industry, including defense. By the start of the Great Patriotic War, the basic defense plants were still located in the center of the nation. But the fact that we already had a firm industrial base in the Volga, the Urals, in Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics made it possible to receive 1,360 of the evacuated enterprises there and build 2,250 new large ones which supplied the front with everything needed to defeat the aggressor.

At present our Armed Forces have a high technical level which embodies the present development level of the economy, science and technology as achieved through the joint efforts of the workers of all the nations and nationalities of the country.

According to the voluntary decision of the Soviet republics, all military production is concentrated in the hands of a single Union-wide center, the Ministry of Defense Industry. Making their contribution to the supplying of the Soviet Army and Navy with modern weapons and everything needed for the training and service of the men are the miners of Siberia and the Donets Basin, the oil workers of Azerbaijan and Bashkiria, the metallurgical workers of the Urals and Kazakhstan, the machine builders of the Nonchernozem Center of the RSFSR and the Ukraine, the cotton growers of Uzbekistan and Turkmenia and the workers of all the republics and oblasts of the country.

The economic flourishing of the nations has been accompanied by progressive shifts in their social structure and spiritual make-up. Previously the development level of the individual peoples restricted the possibility of their involvement in military service. In 1923, for example, the staff of the RKKA [Worker-Peasant Red Army] even envisaged the complete deferment of those nationalities which because of the existing historical, economic and cultural conditions "could not as yet provide citizens for defending the motherland who could carry out the duty of military service under present-day conditions to the benefit of defending the revolution."

In the prewar period the national formations of the Red Army were basically rifle and cavalry ones. But during the years of the Great Patriotic War the national units and formations were equipped with all types of military equipment. At present even the most modern military specialties are accessible for mass mastery by the men of all nationalities. One can easily be convinced of this from the example of any

of our military collectives. At present, the sons of various peoples shoulder to shoulder guard the motherland as members of the rocket troops, as aviators, tank troops and sailors. Many of them are outstanding men in military and political training, high-class specialists and true masters of military affairs. And although the process of industrializing military service has been continued and the links of service remain comparatively short, the inductees in the future will successfully and quickly master the weapons and equipment. This has been objectively aided by the measures elaborated by the 26th CPSU Congress and aimed at strengthening the social homogeneity of our society, at further increasing education and culture, and broadening the training of skilled specialists in the Union republics.

The friendship of peoples and proletarian, socialist internationalism which is an important characteristic trait of our way of life also act as one of the principles in Soviet military organizational development. In the land of the Soviets, all nations and nationalities have an equal right to the military defense of their fatherland. This became possible only after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. As is known, in Tsarist Russia, almost 40 nationalities and peoples, particularly in the borderlands which were actually in a semicolonial status because of political reasons were not permitted to serve in the military.

Soviet power put an end to the discrimination against the non-Russian peoples. Loyal to Lenin's nationality policy, our party opened up the path for them into the ranks of the Red Army. Among the workers of the different nationalities the party conducted enormous explanatory work and convinced them that only in a close unity and in a joint armed struggle would it be possible to defend the victories of the revolution and the right to a free life and all-round development. And the party's word found an ardent response in the hearts of millions. By the end of the Civil War, representatives of almost 50 nationalities were fighting under the colors of the Red regiments.

National troop formations were organized under the leadership of the party Central Committee to broaden the involvement of the various nations and nationalities in the defense of the socialist fatherland. They played an important role in training personnel for the Army and Navy and for familiarizing the previously deferred peoples with military service. At the same time these formations were a necessary and natural step on the way to the final turning of the Red Army into a true monolithic fighting alliance in which, in the words of M. V. Frunze, "the workers of all our Soviet republics send their sons to learn military affairs and hand in hand, like a single strong wall to guard the Soviet land."

The political and military alliance and the friendship of the nations and nationalities of our land withstood the severe testing during the Great Patriotic War. In planning a treacherous attack on the Soviet nation, the Nazi clique assumed that our socialist state and its Armed Forces represented an artificial and fragile association of nations and an "ethnic conglomerate" which was devoid of inner unity and which would collapse after the first blow. Moreover, Nazi propaganda using ideological subversion endeavored to inspire national hostility and the German command and occupation forces were ordered to implant and cultivate hostility between the nations. Here particular attention was paid to instigating conflicts on an anti-Russian basis.



However, the war dashed the hopes of world imperialism to bring about the collapse of the multinational socialist state. The Soviet peoples and the soldiers of different nationalities rallied even closer around the Communist Party and in a single formation fought heroically and worked unstintingly for the sake of protecting their fatherland. Each Soviet republic endeavored to make a maximum contribution to the common cause of achieving victory over the enemy. Thus, over 80 national divisions and separate brigades, primarily at the initial period of the war, were organized from the human and material resources of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Latvia, Lithuania, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Estonia.

Everywhere the defenders of the motherland, united by a single will and by a unity of aims demonstrated miracles of heroism and unstinting loyalty to their patriotic and international duty. The fact that over 11,000 men representing virtually all the nations and nationalities were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union is convincing proof of this. In emphasizing the nationwide nature of this unprecedented feat, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "If one were to speak about the chief hero of the Great Patriotic War, then this immortal hero was the entire close family of peoples inhabiting our land and united by unbreakable ties of fraternity."

Having defeated the shock forces of imperialism and having liberated hundreds of millions of people in a number of European and Asian countries, the Soviet Armed Forces opened up the way to liberty and social progress for the peoples and won the affection and gratitude of the workers of the entire world. In the course of this great international mission, the bases were established for a new type of fraternity in arms, a friendship between the armies of countries following the socialist path of development. At present this fraternity is embodied in the Warsaw Pact Organization which vigilantly guards the socialist commonwealth.

The world historical victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War clearly demonstrated the invincibility of our multinational socialist state. At the same time it further strengthened the unbreakable fraternity of the Soviet people.

This irrefutable historical fact, in causing joy to our friends, has angered those who are hatching new aggressive plans against the USSR and the nations of the socialist commonwealth. Bourgeois ideologists have endeavored to discredit the friendship among the peoples of our land which has been strengthened by the jointly shed blood, to sow the seeds of doubt about the strength of the patriotic and international feelings of the Soviet people and to "prove" the possibility of the defeat of the USSR in a more carefully prepared war by imperialism. Thus, the American "Sovietologist" Hostler in engaging in strategic exercises has endeavored to show that from the military standpoint the "Turkic regions" of the southern Soviet territories are the "weak point" of the USSR.

This is a dangerous misconception. At present the family of Soviet peoples, and equally their representatives in the Army and Navy, has become even more united and lives more closely. And no one can destroy this monolithic fraternal alliance. This was the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress. This was the truth of life. And this means that the Soviet frontiers are inviolable everywhere. There are no weak or unprotected nations in the socialist state of all the people. "The sovereign rights of the Union republics," states the USSR Constitution, "are protected by the USSR." The Soviet Union is a united, powerful state and its Armed Forces are ready



to repel an attack by any enemy, from wherever it might originate, and to defend the security of each people of our fraternal family.

Internationalism and the friendship of peoples, as a principle in the organizational development of a socialist state's army, as has been pointed out by Arm Gen A. A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, are expressed in the fact that "under the leadership of the CPSU, all the Soviet peoples participate in the development and improvement of the Armed Forces which are multinational in their composition." The USSR Constitution, in defining the defense of the socialist fatherland as a cause of all the people, thereby establishes that in ensuring the security and defense of the land, our nations and nationalities are given equal rights and bear equal responsibility.

One of the important manifestations of such equality is the multinational composition of the Soviet officer corps. In a socialist society, a man of any nationality can dedicate himself to professional military service. Here there are neither any direct or indirect restrictions. Moreover, during the period of creating the bases of socialism, when actual inequality of peoples still survived, the CPSU carried out special measures to train national military cadres and set aside the necessary number of places in military schools for all the republics.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the multinational officer cadres of the Army, Air Force and Navy have grown up and become stronger. They have demonstrated their high political and military-professional maturity in the Great Patriotic War and are now honorably carrying out their duty of defending a society of developed socialism. At present, multinationality remains a qualitative feature of the Soviet officer corps. It is manned by the best representatives of all the Soviet nations and nationalities. A characteristic example of this is the national composition of officer personnel in the Order of Lenin Moscow Military District. Here representatives of more than 40 nationalities serve in command, political, engineer and other positions.

At the same time it is obvious that the successes achieved in this area should be reinforced and developed. In improving military cadre policy, the party considers not only the requirements and basic development trends in military affairs but also the increased level of social and spiritual development in the socialist nations and the nature of those demographic and migrational processes which influence the sphere of national relations and the further internationalization of all aspects of life in Soviet society. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed to the importance of ensuring proper representation of all nations in the party and state bodies. Hence the urgency of even greater concern so that the sons of all the Soviet peoples serve in all the branches of troops, in all the Armed Services and in our officer corps.

The importance of the friendship of peoples in the life of the Soviet Armed Forces is determined by the fact that it serves as an important source in shaping the high moral-political and military qualities of the Army and Navy personnel.

The ideas of the friendship of peoples inspired the courageous defenders of the revolution during the years of the Civil War and lay at the basis of the mass heroism of the men during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The importance of these ideas has risen further under present-day conditions.

The socialist ideology of friendship of peoples, in permeating all Army and Navy life, unifies the men into a monolithic collective and helps them to successfully carry out the set missions, to master the complicated equipment and weapons and the procedures of modern combat and to strengthen combat readiness. The multinational military collective is a united, fighting family where each person is confident of his comrade and is himself ready at any moment to come to his aid.

Joint military service individualizes the friendship of peoples and turns it into a profound personal feeling and an aware moral standard in the conduct of a serviceman. Difficult army service makes the service of each man a true school in international indoctrination. "Our army," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is a special army in the sense that it is a school of internationalism, a school for indoctrinating feelings of friendship, solidarity and mutual respect of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union."

The party Central Committee in the Decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Indoctrination" has pointed to the necessity of further strengthening the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces, service in which is a remarkable school of labor and military skills, moral purity and courage, patriotism and comradeship. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that this decree is a long-term document. It, in particular, poses specific tasks in the patriotic and international indoctrination of the Soviet people and the defenders of the socialist motherland.

Our Armed Forces have acquired rich experience in uniting the multinational military collectives and indoctrinating the personnel in a spirit of the friendship of Soviet peoples, a proud feeling of belonging to a united socialist motherland and a readiness to defend it with dignity and honor.

Recently this work has become more meaningful and has been enriched with new forms. It is based upon a profound explanation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the party's Leninist nationality policy and the vivid demonstration of the achievements of the Soviet republics, the fruits of their joint labor and the nation's development prospects in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The commanders, the political bodies and the party organizations are widely propagandizing and explaining the provisions of the USSR Constitution and the requirements of the Soviet laws, the oath and regulations and are showing concern that a healthy moral climate prevails in the military collectives. They see their duty in promptly and decisively unmasking the intrigues of the class enemies to resurrect nationalistic moods and views and their attempts to slander the international essence of our Armed Forces.

All forms of political studies and information, Lenin readings, "On the Map of the Motherland" evenings and meetings with participants of the Civil and Great Patriotic wars are widely used in carrying out the tasks of patriotic and international indoctrination. Many measures are conducted jointly with the local party and Komsomol committees. Ideological work aimed at uniting the troop collectives is also organized during the standing of alert duty, during sea voyages, flights, tactical exercises, in drills and training sessions, that is, in the course of all military service.

The training and indoctrination of the men are carried out in Russian. For this reason it is very important to help those who are not sufficiently fluent in it. This makes it possible for the non-Russian soldiers to more quickly find their place in the collective, to master military affairs, to become familiar with the cultural values of other peoples and to broaden their viewpoint. Clearly this leads to even deeper mutual understanding and to a strengthening of friendship between the comrades in arms.

The results of the diverse ideological and political indoctrination in the Army and Navy were highly praised by the 26th CPSU Congress. "At present," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "the sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War are now serving in the ranks of the defenders of the motherland. They have not undergone the severe hardships which was the lot of their fathers and grandfathers. But they are loyal to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And each time the interests of national security and the defense of peace require, when it is essential to help the victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier shows himself to be a selfless and courageous patriot, and internationalist ready to overcome any hardships."

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress which with new strength emphasized the constancy of the party's course of the greatest possible strengthening of friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples oblige the commanders, political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations of the Army and Navy to further raise the level and effectiveness of the patriotic and international indoctrination of the defenders of the motherland.

Fraternal friendship and the unbreakable unity of the nations and nationalities of our land are a priceless achievement and the driving force in the development of Soviet society and an inexhaustible source for a continuous rise in the economic and defense might of the Soviet Union and the military potential of the USSR Armed Forces. This friendship has a glorious and rich history, a fine present and a bright future. In consistently embodying the principles of a Leninist nationality policy, the Communist Party is constantly concerned with the further flourishing and all-round integration of the nations and nationalities as well as the strengthening of their unity and fraternal cooperation.

United closely around the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, the Soviet people are struggling wholeheartedly to carry out the historic plans of the 26th Party Congress. Marching in the same formation with the workers of our land are the men of our multinational Armed Forces. The sons of different peoples, with dignity and honor they carry out their patriotic and international duty and securely defend the victories of socialism and the sacred frontiers of their united great motherland, the USSR.

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH HIGHWAYS MINISTER ON MOTOR TRANSPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Sh. Bekbulatov, minister of motor highways of the Kazakh SSR: "The Roads to the Elevators"]

[Text] "It is difficult to imagine an efficient agrarian-industrial complex and the modern countryside without a developed road network, suitable transportation, elevators, storage pits, warehouses, refrigerators and packaging facilities. Disorder and a lagging in any of these components is inevitably reflected in the quantity of the final product," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Guided by these remarks, Kazakhstan's road builders have implemented under the leadership of the party and soviet authorities a number of large-scale measures to expand the volume of road building, particularly in rural localities, improve the technical condition of the existing network of motor highways and upgrade the quality of their repairs and maintenance.

The socialist pledges for 1981 provide for an increase of 2,100 kilometers of motor highways with hard surface, the commissioning of 4,100 linear meters of bridges and the linking of 47 central kolkhoz and sovkhoz estates by hard-surface roads. Work will be performed on evening up the surface over 5,800 kilometers of road, and trees and shrubs will be planted over a distance of 1,525 kilometers.

The annual 2-month construction stints are an important stage in the development of rural trunk roads. This has become a good tradition in Kazakhstan. Their principal task is the high-quality and timely preparation of the road network for the mass shipments of agricultural products of the new harvest.

The working people of Kokchetavskaya Oblast's Ruzayevskiy Rayon were the initiators of the 2-month stints. Their initiative, which was approved by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, developed into the construction workers' broad initiative with respect to an improvement in the quality of the main motor highways.

In the period of the 2-month stint this year we have to assimilate more than R124 million of capital investments for the creation of new and repair of old roads. This will enable us to commission 839 kilometers, repair 1,290 kilometers of hard-surface trunk roads, repair 1,691 linear meters of bridges and carry out surface-evening work on the vast majority of roads.



The road builders also adopted a differentiated approach to the times of the 2-month stints: for the southern areas of the republic they began in May-June in order for all the scheduled tasks to have been completed by the start of the harvesting and for the northern areas in June-July.

The bulk of the work had been completed as of the first 10 days of July. Some 73,000 kilometers of road, the main ones of which run from the threshing floors to the elevators, had been made ready for the grain shipments. Road repairs had been completed in Chimbentskaya, Dzhambul'skaya and Alma-Atinskaya oblasts.

The republic's road builders took special pains over 862 kilometers of approach roads to 425 elevators and grain-acceptance centers. Holes were filled in, the shoulders and inclines were profiled and road signs were installed on them. The majority of the approach roads is in good and excellent condition. At the same time a check has shown that certain roads are being maintained unsatisfactorily. The ministry board drew the attention of departmental organization leaders to the specific shortcomings and charged them with removing them within a week.

Kolkhozes and sovkhoses and enterprises and organizations participate actively in the 2-month stints. This is convincing testimony to the fact that the building of motor highways in the republic is not a narrow sectorial task but a matter of state importance and general concern.

Thanks to the initiative of D. Zhigalkin, first secretary of Dzhambul'skaya Oblast's Dzhuvalinskiy Raykom, the set quota for the involvement of equipment in road work in accordance with the KASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase was doubled.

In Alma-Atinskaya Oblast's Talgarskiy Rayon the local staff is headed by Raykom Secretary A.V. Tergeman and Rayispolkom Chairman A.M. Begimbayev. A great deal of work has been done in this rayon on the building of new and the repair of existing roads, and R497,000 have been assimilated against the planned R359,000. A great deal of practical assistance is rendered the road builders by the "Alma-Ata" Kolkhoz, where the chairman is V.I. Smykov, and the Kolkhoz imeni Michurin, which is led by K.A. Abdugulov.

Every year in these periods a considerable amount of road work is performed by the mechanized detachments which are set up in Turgayskaya Oblast's Arkalykskiy and Kiyminski rayons. Particular mention should be made of the specialized brigade of rural machine operators of the "Ishimskiy" Sovkhoz. Its director, B. Nurtazin, has organized active work the year round.

Very many such examples could be cited. Figures give a clear idea of the scale of this activity. Some 1,833 motor vehicles, 375 tractors, 222 of which being the powerful K-700, and 500 units of other equipment have been enlisted in direct participation in road work. Some 204 mechanized detachments have been created.

The progress of the 2-month stints is regularly examined at ministry board meetings. A recent board meeting observed that making the roads ready for mass grain shipments is only half of the matter. The next stage is maintaining the roads in model technical condition throughout the harvesting period. In this way we will be able to ensure the preservation of the grain and exclude any losses owing to the unsatisfactory state of the carriage way. Attention was drawn to stimulation of the work

of the permanent comprehensive brigades for the current repair and maintenance of the trunk roads to ensure that they constantly monitor the state of the roads and traffic safety and also the drivers' observance of the rules of grain transportation. It was recommended that highway patrol sections be organized with their 24-hour duty watch on the principal train-transporting routes. Stocks of road-building materials and ferroconcrete route-setting components and removable sets of road signs and indicators have been created.

These measures will enable us, where necessary, to carry out repairs and straight-away remove emerging defects and damage to the motor highways rapidly and with high quality.

The board sent to the grain-growing oblasts of the republic ministry executives who, in conjunction with the oblast and rayon staffs, are charged with heading the work locally on the timely shipment of the new harvest.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum:

"The customer ultimately judges the quality and quantity of the agricultural product by what he sees and can buy in the store. This is why it is necessary to strive for the continuous, coordinated operation of all links of the chain connecting the field or livestock section with the consumer."

And in this chain the motor highways, which are an integral part of the single assembly line of agricultural production, play a most important part. Taking into consideration the fact that with every new day an ever increasing number of Kazakhstan's kolkhozes and sovkhoses will join the harvesting campaign, the republic's road builders are adopting all necessary measures to ensure that the harvest gathered in be delivered to the places of storage on schedule and without loss. "Green Light for the New Harvest"--this motto has become a basic rule in the work of Kazakhstan's road builders.

8850

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH GOSPLAN DEPUTY REVIEWS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 81 pp 23-30

[Article by Zh. A. Abutalipov: "Kazakhstan During the 11th Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress adopted a detailed program of the building of communism for 1981-1985 and the period to 1990. In the Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development much space is assigned to the development of productive forces and the union republics, including Kazakhstan.

As is known, the 10th Five-Year Plan in Kazakhstan, as in the country as a whole, was fulfilled with respect to all the main indicators. About 38 billion rubles of capital investments were assimilated in the sectors of the national economy, which is 23 percent more than during the Ninth Five-Year Plan.<sup>1</sup> The national income increased by 23.6 percent, while the volume of industrial output increased by more than 18.3 percent. About 250 new enterprises, large shops and works were put into operation.

The agrarian policy was consistently implemented in the republic. In 5 years the country received more than 81 million tons of Kazakhstan grain. The average annual production of grain increased by 27 percent as against the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The five-year plan on procurements of grain corn, rice, raw cotton, potatoes, vegetables and cucurbits was successfully fulfilled. The average annual volumes of the sale of milk, eggs and wool to the state increased. The livestock population increased, its productivity grew. The area of irrigated lands increased by 409,000 hectares, pastures 22.9 million hectares in area were irrigated, 2,600 km of group water mains were put into service.

The joint solution of social problems was a feature of the 10th Five-Year Plan. About 7 billion rubles were allocated for the improvement of the housing, cultural and living conditions of the population. During the 5-year period more than 30 million m<sup>2</sup> of housing were put into operation, 3,215,000 people improved their housing conditions. The real income of the population increased by 18.5 percent, the payments and benefits from public consumption funds increased by 29 percent, which is considerably more than stipulated by the five-year plan.

1. The numerical materials from the reports of D. A. Kunayev and B. A. Ashimov at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan are used in the article. See KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 5, 6, 7 February 1981.

The increase of the minimum wage of workers and employees to 70 rubles a month in all the sectors of the national economy was realized in full. During the five-year plan the rates and salaries of the average pay categories of workers of the nonproductive sectors were increased; a supplementary wage for work at night was introduced for the foremen of the production sections of industrial enterprises and construction organizations and it was increased for workers involved in the main activity of railroads; the wage was also increased for some categories of workers of the coal industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, construction, agriculture and rail transport.

Public health, education, cultural and personal service underwent successful development.

"Now Kazakhstan," member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Comrade D. A. Kunayev wrote, "is a major economic region of the country, the role and importance of which are increasing with each year. The solution of major and most complicated problems is within its power."<sup>2</sup>

The further development of all the sectors of the economy and culture of Soviet Kazakhstan is envisaged by the Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990, which were approved by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The amount of the gross national product by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan will come to nearly 55 billion rubles, the amount of the produced national income will come to 23 billion rubles.

The absolute increase of the national product during the 5-year period will be equal to its amount for 1958. The per capita national income in 1985 will increase nearly threefold as compared with 1960. It is planned to obtain more than 60 percent of the increase of industrial output, 70 percent of the increase of construction and installation work and the entire increase of agricultural output by means of the increase of labor productivity. Along with this in a number of sectors a significant increase of the production capacities will be achieved by the construction of large enterprises and works.

Measures on the improvement of the sectorial structure of the economy, which are aimed at the more complete satisfaction of the demands of the national economy and the population, by the production in the republic and the reduction of the imports of products, especially consumer goods, from other regions of the country are called for.

A list of the most important problems of economic and social development for the future has been established, in accordance with which comprehensive goal programs will be drawn up, such as the fuel and energy balance, the acceleration of the development of the machine building industry, the food program, the creation of the material, technical and fodder base for the further development of sheep raising, the water supply of the national economy and the irrigation of land, environmental protection and others.

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2. D. A. Kunayev, "Sovetskiy Kazakhstan" [Soviet Kazakhstan], Moscow, 1978, p 41.



The increase of the efficiency of the use of the scientific potential of the republic, especially the scientific institutions of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions, as well as the establishment of new scientific centers and institutions are planned. For the purpose of the quickest possible use of the results of completed scientific developments in production it is envisaged to strengthen the mutual contacts of science and production and to create experimental production bases at scientific institutions and enterprises. It is planned to increase by 1.4-fold the capital investments for these purposes.

In the sectors of the national economy it is planned to carry out the complete mechanization of 1,200 enterprises, shops and production sectors, to ensure the conditional saving of labor inputs of 174,000 people and to reduce the number of workers engaged in manual labor by 83,000. The placement into operation of twofold more capacities of computers and automated control systems of technological processes than during the 10th Five-Year Plan is called for.

As before industry will be of decisive importance in the increase of the economic potential and the raising of the technical level of all the sectors of the national economy. The main attention will be focused on the solution of the following problems:

the expansion of the production potential of the base sectors--nonferrous and ferrous metallurgy, the fuel and power complex, the chemical and petrochemical industry;

the creation of the conditions for increasing the level of industrialization of agriculture;

the development of the production base of construction;

the increase of the output of raw materials for the production of consumer goods (chemical fibers, hides, thread, plastics, wood fiber board and others);

the expansion of the output of goods, especially durable goods;

the elimination of the existing intersectorial and intrasectorial disproportions and on this basis the increase of the indicators of efficiency, first of all the output-capital ratio.

This dictates the need for certain structural changes. The processing sectors, which, while having a relatively low capital-output ratio, can provide an appreciable increase of the output-capital ratio, will be developed at a leading rate. The implementation of the outlined measures will make it possible to increase the industrial production volume during the 5-year period by 22-25 percent.

The rate of development of industry during the coming period in many ways is governed by the availability of fuel and energy resources. In 1985 it is planned to increase the production of coal to 134 million tons, which is 18.6 million tons more as against 1980, and the generation of electric power to 90-95 billion kWh, or 29-34 billion kWh more. The main increase of coal production will be obtained at the Ekibastuz basin. The Bogatyr' open pit, the largest in the world, will annually produce 50 million tons of coal.

In order to supply the rural population and to meet municipal and household needs, as well as to supply the electric power stations of Kazakhstan and the Southern Urals with power fuel it is planned to begin the development of the Maykubenskiy lignite basin with the placement of the first section with a capacity of 5 million tons into operation in 1986. In the Karaganda Basin a large amount of mine development and tunneling work will be performed in order to maintain the active capacities.

The continuation of the construction of large GRES's with a capacity of 4 million kW each is called for at the Ekibastuz Fuel and Power Complex. Electric power will be sent from here to the center of the European part of the USSR and to the Urals. For this purpose it is envisaged to construct the first section of the Ekibastuz-Center 1,500-kV direct current electric power transmission line and the Ekibastuz-Urals 1,150-kV alternating current electric power transmission line. The placement into operation of the first section of the Shul'binskaya GES is planned. The development of power engineering will make it possible to improve the electric power balance of the republic and to transform it from an importer to an exporter of electric power.

The increase of the level of central heating will be ensured. For this purpose the operating TETs's in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Pavlodar and Ust'-Kamenogorsk will be expanded and the capacities of other electric power stations and regional boiler houses will be increased.

In the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress it is envisaged to develop at a leading rate the oil drilling industry in the Kazakh SSR. It is planned to increase petroleum production in 1985 to 23.1 million tons, gas condensate to 110,000 tons and gas to 5.3 billion m<sup>3</sup>, to increase the primary refining of petroleum 2.1-fold, to step up the geological prospecting for petroleum and gas in Western Kazakhstan and to expedite the development of the Kalamkas and Karazhanbas petroleum deposits on the Buzachi Peninsula.

Capacities at the Pavlodar Petroleum Refinery will be put into operation and the construction of a new refinery in Chimkent will be completed in order to increase petroleum refining. The extensive introduction of secondary processes of the heavy refining of fuel oil, as well as processes which are aimed at increasing the quality of the products being made and enlarging the assortment of petroleum products, the coking of heavy petroleum residues, the production of asphalt, the catalytic reforming and cracking of crude oil, the hydrotreating of diesel fuel and kerosene are planned.

The chemical industry of the republic will undergo further development due to: the increase of the capacities at the Karatau basin and the Chilisayskoye deposit of phosphorites; the continuation of the construction of the Novodzhambul Phosphorus Plant and the Karatau Chemical Plant; the renovation of the phosphorus works at the Chimkent and Dzhambul associations, which will make it possible to increase the production of mineral fertilizers by 1.3-fold. In this sector the production of synthetic detergents, chemical fibers and plastics will also increased, the production of motor vehicle and agricultural tires, including tires for K-701 tractors, will be assimilated.

In ferrous metallurgy measures on the improvement of the intensification of production will be implemented and operating enterprises will be expanded.

The construction of the sheet iron shop, with the placement of which into operation the production of sheet iron in the country will increase 1.5-fold, will be completed at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine.

At the Yermak and Aktyubinsk ferroalloy plants new capacities will be put into operation and a set of measures on the retooling of production will be implemented. The capacities for the mining of iron ore at the Sokolovsko-Sarbayskiy, Lisakovsk, Kacharskiy and Donskoy mining and concentration combines, as well as the Ken'-Tyube mine will be expanded.

The increase of the capacities of mining enterprises, as well as the improvement of the technological processes of concentration and metallurgy, the organization of the output of products of increased technical readiness and the complete utilization of mineral raw materials, the improvement of the quality and assortment of the products being produced are called for in nonferrous metallurgy.

Particular attention will be devoted to the development of the raw material base of operating enterprises, as well as the assurance of its further leading development: it is planned to put into operation the Akchiy-Spasskiy open pit and an underground mine at the Dzhezkazgan Combine and to implement measures on the completion of the construction of the Zhezkentskiy and Akzhal mining and concentration combines and the Eastern Kazakhstan Copper and Chemical Combine, as well as the placement into operation of the Boshchekul'skiy copper deposit, and to place the Bakyrchikskiy and Vasil'kovskiy combines into operation.

In the ore mining industry much attention will be devoted to increasing labor productivity by the use of the cyclical flow technology of mining ore and the introduction of new, more productive mining equipment.

In the metallurgical industry the amounts of processing of waste slags and sludges will increase considerably.

During the new five-year plan the work on the building up of the machine building base of the republic will be continued. The production volume of the sector will increase 1.3-fold, which will mainly be ensured by the expansion and renovation of operating enterprises. The renovation of the Pavlodar Tractor Plant will for the most part be completed. The output of new highly efficient machines for the mold-boardless tilling of soils will increase at the Tselinograd Association of Anti-erosion Equipment, the production of sets of machines and equipment for the mechanization of operations in sheep raising will increase at the Aktyubinsk Agricultural Machinery Plant. The capacities will be expanded at the Kentay Transformer Plant and the Petropavlovsk Insulating Materials Plant.

The construction of plants for the production of air-cooled diesel engines in Kustanay, propeller shafts in Petropavlovsk, alkaline batteries in Taldy-Kurgan, the Tsentrolit Plant of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry in Kustanay, the Polimer mash Plant and the reinforcement plant in Ust'-Kamenogorsk is planned.



The increase of the production of diverse high quality goods and the maximum meeting of the demands of the population for them are the main task of the sectors which produce consumer goods.

In light industry the output of cotton, wool and silk fabrics, rugs and carpet items, knitted underwear and outerwear, leather footwear and other goods will be increased. During the five-year plan the demand of the population for children's goods, hosiery and garments and leather footwear for the most part will be met.

Such large enterprises as the porcelain plant in Kokchetav, the nonwoven materials factory in Kzyl-Orda, the sewing factory in Pavlodar and the trimming factory in Ust'-Kamenogorsk will be put into operation in the sector, the construction of a stocking factory in Temirtau and Semipalatinsk, a cotton spinning factory in Karaganda and others will begin.

The furniture industry will be developed mainly due to the renovation, retooling and specialization of production with the use of advanced materials and the maximum utilization of low grade lumber and scrap wood. Measures on the updating of the assortment and the assimilation of the production of the best models of furniture and the improvement of its appearance are planned.

The share of local industry in the production of mass demand goods is increasing. Its enterprises will be located in medium-sized and small cities and other population centers, which have idle manpower resources. It is planned to increase the output of products from local raw materials and production waste by 1.3-fold.

Important tasks on the increase of the production of goods for cultural, personal and household use are being entrusted to the machine building and other enterprises of heavy industry. It is planned to assimilate the production of new complicated personal goods. The output of tape recorders, children's bicycles, tools, garden and orchard tools and others will increase considerably.

In the implementation of the food program an important role is being assigned to the development of agriculture of Kazakhstan. The work on the intensification of agricultural production, the strengthening of its material and technical base, the improvement of the structure, the intensification of specialization and the increase of the concentration of production will be continued.

These measures will make it possible to ensure an average annual production of grain in the amount of 28-29 million tons, meat (in dressed weight)--1.2-1.3 million tons, milk--4.9-5 million tons. The production of wool will be increased to 110,000-115,000 tons, karakul skins--to 2.5 million.

The production volumes in farming, which are stipulated for the new five-year plan, will be achieved due to the assimilation of scientifically sound crop rotations and the improvement of the structure of the sown areas, the extensive use of high-yield strains and hybrids of grain crops and the expansion of reclamation operations. The increase of the output of livestock products will be based on the increase of the population of all types of livestock and poultry, the increase of their productivity, the strengthening of the fodder base, the mechanization of production processes and the creation of a highly productive breed herd. By the end of the five-year plan it is planned to increase the number of cattle to 8.7 million, sheep and goats to 41 million, hogs to 3.2 million and poultry to 49.5 million.



Measures on the material and technical supply of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the republic are envisaged. During the 5-year period agriculture should receive 148,000 tractors, 109,000 trucks, 93,000 grain harvesting combines and much other equipment. The amount of capital investments in the overall development of agriculture will be 16.2 billion rubles, or an increase of 17 percent as against the past five-year plan.

The improvement of the use of irrigated land, the increase of its fertility and the elimination of the lag in agricultural development lie ahead in the area of land reclamation. The placement into use of 400,000-420,000 hectares of land in the basin of the Irtysh River, in the zone of the Irtysh-Karaganda Canal, as well as in the southern oblasts of the republic is planned. Great amounts of work are planned on the improvement of the technical state of the existing irrigated land. In all 15 million hectares of pastures will be irrigated, the scientific and design studies on the transfer of waters of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as well as measures on the preservation of land, the animal world, water and other natural resources will be continued.

The improvement of the cooperation of all the sectors of the agro-industrial complex and the sharp decrease of the losses of produce during the harvesting, transportation, processing, storage and delivery to the consumer are envisaged at the same time as the increase of the output of agricultural products. The union republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry was established for these purposes.

The task of increasing the production and improving the quality of products by means of the complete processing of resources and the maximum reduction of the transportation of livestock is being set in the meat and dairy industry. Taking into account the increasing demand of the population for dairy products, it is planned to increase the production of substitutes of whole and dry skim milk during the 5-year period by 4.6-fold.

In the food industry the demand of the population for macaroni and confectionary items, vegetable oil, table salt and beer will for the most part be met by its own production, the importing of other foodstuffs will be decreased considerably. For these purposes it is planned to build a macaroni factory in Chimkent, a grain macaroni and confectionary combine in Karaganda, bakeries in Gur'yev, Taldy-Kurgan, Shchuchinsk and Alma-Ata, a mineral water bottling plant in Chimkent, a Pepsi Cola plant in Alma-Ata; it is planned to carry out the renovation of a number of enterprises in the sugar and fruit canning industry and of the oil and fat combine in Chimkent and several others.

In the fish industry attention will be devoted to the intensification of commercial fishing and the improvement of the biotechnics of pisciculture, to the introduction of the mechanization of production and advanced methods of feeding fish.

The improvement of the operation of all types of transport, especially rail transport, has been outlined. For these purposes it is envisaged to carry out the re-equipment of rail transport and the placement into operation of the Sayak-Aktogay line. The length of second tracks and two-track inserts will be increased. The total volume of freight shipment by rail transport will increase by more than 20 percent. A number of measures will be implemented on the increase of the quality of operational work, the rationalization of freight traffic, the sharp increase

of the volumes of container and packet shipments, as well as the intensification of the use of freight cars at stations and on the sidings of industrial enterprises. It is planned to expand advanced centralized cargo shipments. Passenger traffic will increase considerably. The construction of the control network of highways, which link the economic regions of the republic with each other and with the neighboring oblasts of the RSFSR and the republics of Central Asia, as well as of the roads to the rayon centers, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be completed. The renovation of existing highways of national importance will be continued. It is planned to increase the network of hard surface roads to 79,800 km and their share to 82 percent.

The 11th Five-Year Plan will become a new stage in the implementation of the party program on the increase of the well-being of the people.

It is planned to increase the national income, which is used for consumption and accumulation, by 28 percent in 5 years. This will make it possible to provide an increase of the per capita real income by 16.4 percent. The average monthly wage of workers and employees will be increased by 15 percent, while the pay of kolkhoz farmers will be increased by 16 percent.

Rayon coefficients for the wage of workers and employees, for whom they have not been established, will be introduced in some rayons of the republic. Public consumption funds will increase 23 percent as against 20 percent for the country.

Air transport will be developed in the direction of the further expansion of the passenger and freight traffic and mail shipments.

The assurance of the proportionate development of telephone and telegraph communications, television and radio broadcasting, postal service and the distribution of printed matter is the main task of the development of the means of communication.

The volume of the retail commodity turnover will increase by more than one-fourth, the provision of the population with stores and public dining enterprises will increase.

The demand of the population for personal services will be met more completely, while in such services as shoe and clothing repair, the custom making of clothes, the rental of cultural, personal and household goods and the services of barbers and hairdressers the actual provision will be brought up to the standard. A faster rate of growth of personal services is envisaged in rural areas, where it is planned to complete the establishment of houses of personal service and combined receiving centers.

The implementation of the housing construction program will be continued: it is planned to increase the provision of housing per person to 0.65 m<sup>2</sup>, and in rural areas to 1.1 m<sup>2</sup>.

Substantial changes are called for in municipal services. It is planned to provide all the cities of the republic with centralized water supply and a centralized sewer system and to provide all the available urban and socialized housing with central heating.

The public education and cultural system will be expanded. Plans on improving the working and living conditions of working women are planned. The provision of children with preschool institutions will increase. Qualitative changes will take place in the secondary educational system, especially in rural areas, where during 1981-1985 it is planned to put into operation more than two-thirds of all the places in school being put into operation in the republic and to complete the changeover of general educational schools to a single shift.

In rural rayon centers Houses of Culture will be built, and the network of public libraries, club institutions and movie projectors will be enlarged. Higher and secondary education will undergo further development. In all 8 higher and 12 secondary educational institutions will be organized. Some 586,100 specialists will be trained for the sectors of the national economy.

It is planned to implement a number of measures in the area of public health. The network of hospitals, polyclinics and drugstores will be enlarged. Thus, it is planned to increase the provision of the population with hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants to 131.2 as against 129.7 in 1980.

The organization of physical culture, sports, tourism and others will be improved.

The achievement of the set tasks will require the performance in the sectors of the national economy of a large amount of work on capital construction, the strengthening of the production base of construction organizations, especially in new, uninhabited regions and rural areas. During the 5-year period the capital investments in the national economy due to all sources of financing will increase by 19.5 percent.

In the Accountability Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Comrade D. A. Kunayev along with the work being performed noted that "for the republic as a whole the reorganization of the economic mechanism is still being carried out slowly, especially in the systems of the ministries of power, the construction materials industry and local industry," "Gosplan, the ministries and departments are called upon to raise planning to a qualitatively new level," "in planning it is important to use more actively the new program goal method which has been advanced by life itself."

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the 26th party congress, expressing the thoughts and feelings of all communists and the Soviet people, said with steadfast confidence: "Our goal--communism--is magnificent. And each labor gain, each year of heroic accomplishments and each five-year plan are bringing us closer to this goal. The party is also evaluating the coming 5-year period from this point of view. Great, difficult problems must be solved, and we will solve them and solve them without fail."<sup>3</sup>

The enhancement of the role of planning as the central link in the management of the national economy, the strengthening of cost accounting at all levels of management, the improvement of the organizational structure of management and the

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3. PRAVDA, 24 February 1981.

development of the initiative and creative activeness of the workers in the management of the economy are the most important condition of the accomplishment of the far-reaching tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

At present the Kazakh SSR Gosplan jointly with ministries and departments, on the basis of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, is elaborating measures on the implementation of the plan of the 11th Five-Year Plan with respect to all the indicators on time and with a high quality.

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## REGIONAL

### DEVELOPMENT OF DIESEL RAILROAD TRANSPORT IN UZBEKISTAN

Moscow GUDOK in Russian 27 Aug 81 p 3

/Article by A. Belen'kiy, chief of the locomotive service of the Central Asian Railroad, candidate for the degree of doctor of technical sciences: "Dates to Remember in the Transportation Sector: Fifty Years of Diesel Traction"/

/Text/ At the locomotive depots of Ashkhabad, Bukhara and Tashkent on the Central Asian Railroad they are celebrating a network-wide meeting devoted to ways to improve the technological processes of repairing diesel engines using mechanization, automation and diagnostic equipment. The meeting coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of diesel locomotives on Soviet mainline railroads.

The decision to build the first diesel locomotive was made in 1922 on the initiative of V. I. Lenin by the Labor and Defense Council of Soviet Russia; this decision noted the particular importance of developing the production of diesel engines in the Soviet Union. The first diesel engine, the Shch-EL-1, made its appearance two years later. It was designed by Professor Ya. Gakkel' and built in Soviet plants using Soviet materials.

The Soviet communist party has long given attention to questions having to do with the adoption of diesel traction along with the electrified traction. The June Plenum of the Bolshevik Communist Party (1931), while studying problems connected with rebuilding railroad transport, in keeping with Leninist traditions, decided "to approve the plan to transfer the the Krasnovodsk-Chardzhou line to diesel traction in the years 1932-1933."

By the fall of 1931 experimental diesel engines from the Lyublinskaya base were transferred to the Ashkhabad locomotive depot. Then they began receiving series-built E-EL diesel engines from the Kolomna steam engine building plant and the Moscow "Dinamo" plant. Their regular operation for freight and passenger traffic began first on the Ashkhabad to Bami and the Ashkhabad to Dushak sections; and then they were used on the entire Krasnovodsk to Chardzhou line, a distance of nearly 1,500 kilometers.

In 1937 the construction of the world's first specialized diesel engine depot was completed in Ashkhabad. It was considered well equipped for those times with machine tool and crane equipment. This enterprise became a base for the repair and operation of diesel locomotives and a workshop for diesel engine personnel. Veterans of diesel traction still work here successfully: engineers M. Romanyuk (the first chief of the diesel engine repair shops), V. Sheyanov (former machine operator and later the deputy chief of the railroad line), P. Vazhev (former chief of the diesel engine repair shops), L. Tumasova (one of the first female diesel engine operators) and many others.

In spite of some imperfection in the design, the E-EL diesel engines demonstrated a high degree of efficiency, a low discharge of water, which meant that in contrast to steam engines these diesel engines could travel further between being equipped. During the Great Patriotic War a column of these diesel engines operated successfully on front-line railroads. When the Tashkent and Ashkhabad railroads were the only transportation link between the center of the Soviet Union and the Transcaucasia, diesel locomotives played an important role in carrying defense materiel.

During the post-war period diesel traction came into its own on a new qualitative basis in 1947. On the Central Asian Railroad they began receiving Soviet-made diesel engines of the TE1 series; later they put into use locomotives of the TE2, TGM3, TE3, TEP10, 2TE10V, TEM2 series and several others. Many of these are still in operation. Specialists and leading railroad production workers participated actively in the work to improve the design of these diesel engines. On 4 November 1974, on the eve of the 57th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the final steam engine was decommissioned and the Central Asian Railroad was fully transferred to diesel traction.

Now the railroad has become a real test range for new series of diesel engines. Diesel traction on the Central Asian Railroad accounts for 99.9 percent of all transport work and 100 percent of all shunting work. It would be impossible for steam traction to handle today's volumes of shipping.

Diesel traction has made it possible to substantially raise labor productivity, to reduce shipping costs, and to improve the working conditions of the railroad workers. The locomotive service workers are making their contribution to providing transport service for the national economy of the Central Asian republics. There is widespread competition to use heavy trains and to conserve fuel and energy resources. Due to the expertise of the locomotive brigades, the improvement in the technical condition of the diesel engines and the adoption of technically sound norms for fuel usage which were calculated according to a special computer program, in 1980 nearly 2,000 tons of diesel fuel were conserved. Since the first of this year another 3,800 tons were conserved.

In the first ranks of those competing to use heavy trains and to conserve fuel are Central Asian Railroad operators and heroes of Socialist Labor S. Khusainov from the Dushanbe depot, M. Saidov from the Samarkand depot, machine operator-instructor from the Khavast depot and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet S. Shirokikh and others.

One of the crucial tasks is to ensure the operational reliability of locomotives. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone there was a two-fold increase in capital investments on the railroad for the development of the locomotive service. The construction of new, basic depots at Dzhizak, Uzbekistan and Termez were completed. New production capacities for the repair of diesel engines at depots in Kungrad, Tinchlik, Chardzhou, Karshi and Tashkent were put into operation. Work was started on the modernization of the Kokand and Ashkhabad depots. Starting last year, the plan for the most complicated and labor-intensive kind of repair work on the TR-3 diesel engine is being fully met. More than 70 flow lines and mechanized working places are in operation in the railroad's depot. At the Ashkhabad, Dushanbe and several other depots they are adopting a comprehensive quality control system and the brigade contract; and extensive use is being made of the experience of the leading depots in the network: Sol'vychevodsk, Zhmerinka, and Lyngasov.

These and other measures that are being taken on the Central Asian Railroad have made it possible in 1980 as compared with 1979 to improve the technical condition of the diesel park and to lower the number of spoilages of diesel engines enroute and the stops for unscheduled repair by 8 and 18 percent respectively. This year as compared with the corresponding period last year the number of stops for unscheduled repairs was reduced by another 10 percent.

Along with the solution of technical problems having to do with the organization, operation and repair of locomotives, the Central Asian Railroad has been devoting much attention to social problems and to the training of personnel. To better fill out staffs with mass professions (assistant operators and metal workers) base GPTUs /city professional-technical institution/ have been organized at almost every locomotive depot. A special program for the construction of dormitories on a special basis for the locomotive depots has been developed and is now being implemented. Well-equipped dormitories have already been built at depots in Ashkhabad, Tashkent, Bukhara, Mary, Chardzhou, Kungrad, Urgench, and Khavast. Within recent years seven new well-equipped brigade rest homes have been built; the majority of the rest of the rest homes have received some capital repair work.

Such is the diesel engine service of the Central Asian Railroad, which was the first to assimilate this new form of traction. In its example are seen the advances made by the diesel engine builders and operators in past years. At present diesel locomotives are operating on several of the most important railroad lines in different regions of the Soviet Union. Diesel engines perform more than 80 percent

of all shunting work. Soviet diesel engines are being successfully operated in other nations of the world.

Having started with 1,000 horse power within one locomotive, we are now talking about second generation diesel locomotives, which can develop a capacity of 8,000 horsepower. The diesel engine builders and operators are constantly seeking new promising solutions.

8927

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## REGIONAL

### POLISH PRESS INVESTIGATES WORLD WAR II MASSACRE IN L'VOV

Warsaw NASHE SLOVO in Ukrainian 26 Jul 81 p 2

[Article: "Ukrainian Affairs in the Polish Press: In Memory of the L'vov Scholars"]

[Text] In recent days the Polish press has devoted much attention to the tragic events of World War II. A considerable amount of materials, articles and comments deal with a terrible, tragic crime -- the murder of L'vov scholars by the Hitlerites. One is curious about the discrepancies among figures on the total number of victims. KURIER POLSKI (No 129) reports that the Hitlerites executed 42 persons 40 years ago this July: 22 professors from higher educational institutions in L'vov, along with certain of their relatives. The victims also included one associate and one undergraduate student. However, according to figures in TRYBUNA LUDU (No 145), the victims included 25 professors, 19 members of their families, as well as a considerable number of other scholars and scientists.

For a long period of time Ukrainian nationalists from the Nachtigall battalion were blamed for this unparalleled crime. There was no certainty about this, however. Thanks to the self-sacrifice of several persons, particularly T. Krukovs'ka, the widow of Professor V. Krukovs'kyi, K. Lantskorons'ka, V. Zhelens'kyi, and Professor Z. Al'bert, West German jurists were compelled to conduct an investigation in this affair, which helped determine who was the immediate perpetrator.

A. Hess, as reported by the above-mentioned KURIER POLSKI, in 1976 began collecting materials about the crime in L'vov. He was able to find the last witnesses to that tragic night. Using various methods, he also succeeded in obtaining from archives in the FRG documents from the investigation.

"On the 40th anniversary of the crime," the newspaper states, "the names of the persons who are responsible for the murders will once again be indicated. Perhaps this will not remain without response."

This tragic event of 40 years ago was commemorated in Wroclaw. On 29 June a solemn ceremony was held in the building of the Wroclaw department of the Polish Academy of Sciences, dedicating a memorial tablet honoring the memory of the professors murdered in L'vov. That same day a scientific meeting was held at B. Bierut Wroclaw University, devoted to that tragic event. TRYBUNA LUDU (No 151) carried a news item on the activities honoring the memory of the L'vov scholars in Wroclaw.

## REGIONAL

### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF UNIATE CHURCH ATTACKED

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 28 June 8 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences S. Voznyak, head of the department of scientific atheism at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy: "By Means of Deception and Provocation"]

[Text] A certain truism, long since proven by history, states that societal elements and groupings which have outlived themselves will do anything in their power to continue their existence.

Remnants of Uniatism, which have found refuge in the countries of the bourgeois West, should be swept by the Ukrainian people onto the ash heap of such "yesterday's" or even "day before yesterday's" elements. United in the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church (UKTs), headed by former Uniate metropolitan, presently Vatican Cardinal Y. Slipyy, the Uniate clergy have stepped up their activities within the camp of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, are marching shoulder to shoulder with the neo-Nazis, Zionists and other reactionary groups, and are faithfully serving in the imperialist circle of anti-Communists and anti-Soviets.

Utilization of the Uniates by international reaction is quite logical. Born by treachery and coercively forced upon the Ukrainian people, for more than three and a half centuries the Uniate Church was a spiritual instrument of enslavement of the masses.

Self-abolition of the Uniate Church in 1946 dealt a death blow to the plans of the anti-Communists to utilize Uniatism for the struggle against our social system and the socialist achievements of the Ukrainian people.

Recently, however, there have been observed within the framework of a new anti-Communist "crusade" by all imperialist forces vigorous attempts by certain circles in the West to whitewash the Uniate Church and to "revive" it in the Ukraine.

The Uniate "church leaders" in turn are making every effort to repay and please their masters, to make their own criminal "contribution" toward aggravation of the international situation and the campaign by reaction against socialism, democracy, and social progress.

Having constructed their wasp's nests abroad, especially in the United States, Canada, and the FRG, the bosses of the remnants of Uniatism, adding their voices to the general chorus of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, and financed by imperialist intelligence and ideological services, have established an extensive network of clerical, nationalist organizations, "scholarly" institutions, and publishing houses, etc, and are publishing dozens of newspapers and magazines, "scholarly notes," and "studies." This entire Uniate-nationalist "arsenal" has been placed in the service of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The nationalist firm of "Slipyy and Company" have always sought and continue to seek to advance to stage front of militant clericalism, heavily mixed with hatred of Communist ideals. Let us cite some facts from recent history. At the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) it aligned itself with the ultraconservative wing, which sought to maintain the Vatican's anti-Communist course of policy and gave total support to a certain "renovation" of activities of the Catholic Church. In October 1963, speaking from the council rostrum, Y. Slipyy appealed for unqualified condemnation of communism and atheism, restoration of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine, and training of priests for "apostolic activities" on the territory of our republic, and demanded creation of a Uniate Kiev-Galician patriarchate in the Soviet Ukraine.

All clerical-nationalist reactionaries jumped to the support of this provocational plot, viewing it as a new opportunity to activate the vestiges of Uniatism "in the diaspora" (that is, in the countries harboring Ukrainian emigrés) and galvanization of Uniate-nationalist attitudes among a segment of religious believers in the Ukraine. It is true that the official Vatican, which in the 1960's adopted a policy of dialogue with the Communists as well as with the governments of the socialist countries, did not support Slipyy's anti-Soviet provocations. At the same time it took a kindly attitude toward their initiator: Slipyy was named the "supreme archbishop" of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite, and in 1965 was appointed to the rank of cardinal. Thus Slipyy's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet activities received the blessings of the Apostolic See. The anti-Soviet actions of the UKTs and of Cardinal Slipyy personally received the active support of ruling circles in the United States, Canada, the FRG and other bourgeois countries.

Strongly encouraged by their imperialist patrons and the Vatican to engage in provocational actions against the USSR, Uniate leaders embarked upon a noisy campaign for "restoration of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine." They totally link the possibility of such a "restoration" with another world war. The hierarchs of the UKTs have openly appealed, for example, for "religious and national liberation" of the Ukrainian people. And Slipyy himself, in his 1979 Easter message to the faithful, expatiated about "the return of our homeland, when it is touched by the flame of liberty." M. Lyubachiv's'kyy, who was recently appointed metropolitan of the Uniate Church in the United States and coadjutor (assistant with the right of succession) of Slipyy, also calls for prayers for "complete freedom" for the Ukrainian people. It is not difficult to figure about what kind of "liberty" for the Ukrainian people the hierarchs of Uniatism are dreaming: freedom to enslave the Ukrainian people both by bourgeois-nationalist and foreign oppressors, which have always been supported and blessed by the Uniate Church. And who is praying for this "freedom"? The sworn enemies of the Ukrainian people, Gestapo and SD agents, whose hands are stained with the blood of the people....

It is quite logical that in its anti-Soviet actions the Uniate clergy places great hopes on assistance from official Washington. In particular, Slipyy once sent a letter "On Behalf of the Ukrainian People" and as "head of their church" to the then U.S. President J. Carter, in which he requested that Carter "remember the Ukrainian people and their church" during discussion of observance of the Helsinki Agreements at the conference in Belgrade. The provocational nature of this appeal was obvious.

On religious-nationalist soil Slipyy and Company are endeavoring to activate religious affairs in the emigré community, to unite all religious-believer Ukrainians abroad to "a single Ukrainian church" in order to place them under the black standard of anticommunism. Incidentally, UKTs leaders have been entertaining this idea for quite some time. Formation of the so-called "All-Ukrainian Church Council" in Toronto (Canada) in 1973 constituted one step toward its implementation. Council membership included representatives of the UKTs, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), and the Evangelical Protestants. As could be expected, this "consolidation" of clerical extremists won the full approval of the entire emigré bourgeois-nationalist camp.

However, the efforts by Slipyy and Company to "strengthen the religious unity" of the emigré community are failing to produce the desired results. The Uniates themselves are compelled to acknowledge this fact; in particular, the newspaper AMERYKA (Philadelphia), organ of Ukrainian Catholics in the United States, stated that Slipyy's message entitled "On Unification in Christ," which dealt with this question, "evoked such little response in our (Uniate-nationalist -- S. V.) press that one must wonder whether or not we really desire unity?" The fact is that Uniatism abroad is in a state of constant deep crisis, which nobody and nothing is able to do anything about, particularly ridiculous and vain attempts to revive Uniatism on Ukrainian soil.

As we see, the activities of Slipyy and other leaders of the UKTs to revive the "Ukrainian national church" go far beyond the boundaries of the religious question proper. They are of a clearly-expressed political character, for they are aimed at supporting attempts by international imperialism to turn back the system of international relations to "cold war" times. Suffice it to say that the Uniate clergy, together with all emigré nests of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, are actively engaged in a campaign of slander about the "absence" of individual rights and freedoms in the socialist world. They are loudly singing a refrain of the fabrications of imperialist propaganda about "persecution" of religious believers, "coercive eradication" of religion in the USSR, etc. One of the messages signed by Slipyy and other UKTs hierarchs shamelessly claims that in our country people are allegedly "punished for their religious and national convictions," that the "godless regime" does not recognize individual rights, etc.

Also of a patently provocational nature is the so-called "documentation center on persecution of faith and the church in the Ukraine" in Munich (FRG), established by Uniates together with other "freedom-loving" Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. The "center" engages in vicious slander against the Soviet way of life, the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. The Uniate clergy actively collaborates with the "Christian Human Rights Committee," established in the United States, as well as other anti-Communist organizations, which operate under demagogic slogans of "defense of religious rights."



As the facts attest, the Vatican is playing the unseemly role of inspirer of the actions of Slipyy and Company. This was once again persuasively demonstrated by the farce which was played out in the Apostolic See at the end of last year in reference to the question of the "uncanonical nature" of the decision by the L'vov Council to abolish the Brest Ecclesiastical Union. The "First Synod" of the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church was held at the Vatican from 25 November to 2 December, at the initiative of the Roman Pope. In addition to Slipyy and several other hierarchs of the UKTs, participants in the proceedings included a representative of the Pope, prefect of the Vatican's Eastern Congregation, Cardinal V. Rubin. The synod adopted a declaration proclaiming self-abolition of the Uniate Church at the 1946 L'vov Council to have been unlawful. During a meeting with the participants in the synod, Pope John Paul II gave an address in which he blessed the UKTs leaders for their active efforts on behalf of "revival" of the Uniate Church.

The farce which took place in the Apostolic See regarding the decisions of the L'vov Council, just as other acts of provocation by UKTs leaders, once again exposed the Uniate clergy and their inspirers as sworn enemies of the Ukrainian people and their socialist achievements, enemies of peace and international cooperation. But their efforts are in vain! The Ukrainian people long ago passed a harsh and final judgment on the Uniate Church and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in general. This sentence is not subject to appeal.

3024

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## REGIONAL

### CONSTRUCTION OF ALMA-ATA PEPSI PLANT STALLED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 81 p 2

[Report by inspection team consisting of N. Vinnikov, leader of a brigade of the Alma-Ata "Kazstal'montazh" Administration; A. Aytbakiyev, mason of the "Almaatapromstroy" Trust Construction and Installation Administration-24; B. Kuz'menko, own correspondent of STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, and Yu. Pautov, correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA: "Disburbing Symptoms"]

[Text] Alma-Ata--Greater-than-usual attention is paid to this construction project. Primarily because the Pepsi-Cola production complex is the only one in Kazakhstan and the biggest such enterprise in the republic: 200,000 bottles of tonic drink a day will be manufactured here. The collective of the "Almaatapromstroy" Trust planned to hand over the project in the second quarter of this year.

How are things going? What use is being made of work time? The members of the inspection team put these questions to many participants in the construction project.

"The client should theoretically be pleased with the results of the first 6 months," V. Surovtsev, deputy director of the Alma-Ata Nonalcoholic Beer Association, of which the future complex will become a part, said. "Some R737,000 have been assimilated compared with a planned R600,000. The main production building has been put up and the installation of the administrative-social building is being completed. But at the same time there is much that is putting us on our guard."

Why is the deputy director dissatisfied, after all, the success is there for all to see, as they say? The point is that at the first stage of construction the prime contracting Construction and Installation Administration-24 of the "Almaatapromstroy" Trust, the specialized administration of the "Kazstal'montazh" Trust and other participants in the construction project performed good, but, nonetheless, bulk work which did not require particular skill or big labor expenditure. In addition, strict supervision of the progress of the work was exercised by the obkom and the "Almaatapromstroy" Administration.

But this attention slackened off subsequently, and at precisely the time when a start was made on laborious types of work at the project: brickwork and the floor and roof arrangement. Trouble started immediately, as a result of which the June plan was disrupted. The "deficit" was covered at the expense of the other months.

However, the situation was not rectified subsequently. Erratic supplies of the necessary materials were the main reason for this. Every week senior construction superintendent Yu. Lazaridi would draw up the applications: I urgently need bricks --2,000 per day. But he would receive from Brick Plant No 1 no more than 3,000 per week.

"In order to somehow extricate ourselves from the situation," Lazaridi said, "we struck up semi-official contacts with another plant--No 3. Sometimes it helps out. Nevertheless, we are still short of bricks. It has been necessary to take people away from the main sections and transfer them to secondary areas."

And the Alma-Ata "Kazstal'montazh" Administration "found" another solution--removed some of the people from the complex and transferred them to other projects. The reason for this was the same--interruptions in supply. And it is difficult to blame them for this. The production preparation group operating in this administration scheduled for its assemblers a program for a month. But what was scheduled remained on paper because Ferroconcrete Products Plant No 3 shipped the frames for covering the upper floor to the administrative building greatly behind schedule, while Construction Materials Works No 1, paying no attention to the applications, shipped here structures for the upper floors first, ahead of those for the lower floors. The site is a heap of various products, but there is nothing to install them with.

The "Montazhspetstroy" Administration also recalled its people from the project, leaving three persons "for representation". And again for an objective reason: for 2 months now the client, prime contractor and "Kazgipropishcheprom" Planning Institute have been unable to reach agreement in essence on a simple question: how to feed the new heating route into the operating system. Stormy discussions between the construction workers and designers are still going on concerning this area of work, but a solution has not yet been found. For the in-feed of the new area it is essential in the next few days to build a special chamber and then shut down the heat supply for a minimum of a week. This moment brooks no delay since preparation of the systems for the heating season will not allow this work to be completed in time and will ultimately disrupt the time of the installation of the administrative-social building and the completion of the construction of the entire complex.

Thus almost 50 percent less people than necessary are currently employed in the installation of the complex. They are not idle--work can always be found at a construction project. But it is difficult to call what they are doing work. The totally wrong kind of panels, for example, were delivered to the site from the construction materials works and they now have to be sent back. Thus it is that there is work and time goes by, but there are no useful returns for the construction project. Unfortunately, this example is no exception to the rule.

Summing up what has been said, the conclusion may be drawn that all the faults at the important project are the result of the inefficiency of the direct leaders of the project, which is leading to disorganization of operations. For incomprehensible reasons the representatives of the prime contractor and subcontractor are putting their hopes in outside assistance, forgetting that bringing elementary order to bear is entirely in their hands. Does it have to be repeated that such dependent sentiments will in no way contribute to an improvement in matters?

8850

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REGIONAL

BRIEFS

PROMOTION OF KIRGHIZ LITERATURE--[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 27 August 1981 carries a 450-word article by K. Bobulov, head of the Kirghiz republic department of the All-Union Copyright Agency (VAAP), discussing publication of works by Kirghiz writers and their sale abroad. The fact that Chingiz Aytmatov's works have been sold in 46 countries, including the United States, is noted with satisfaction, but, according to Bobulov, the level of promotion of Kirghiz books abroad still leaves much to be desired. The fact that Kirghiz works are infrequently translated into Russian, while VAAP information organs promote works published in Russian abroad, is viewed as a significant impediment to the sale of Kirghiz authors' works abroad.

Text / Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Aug 81 p 27

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*Sept. 29, 1981*

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